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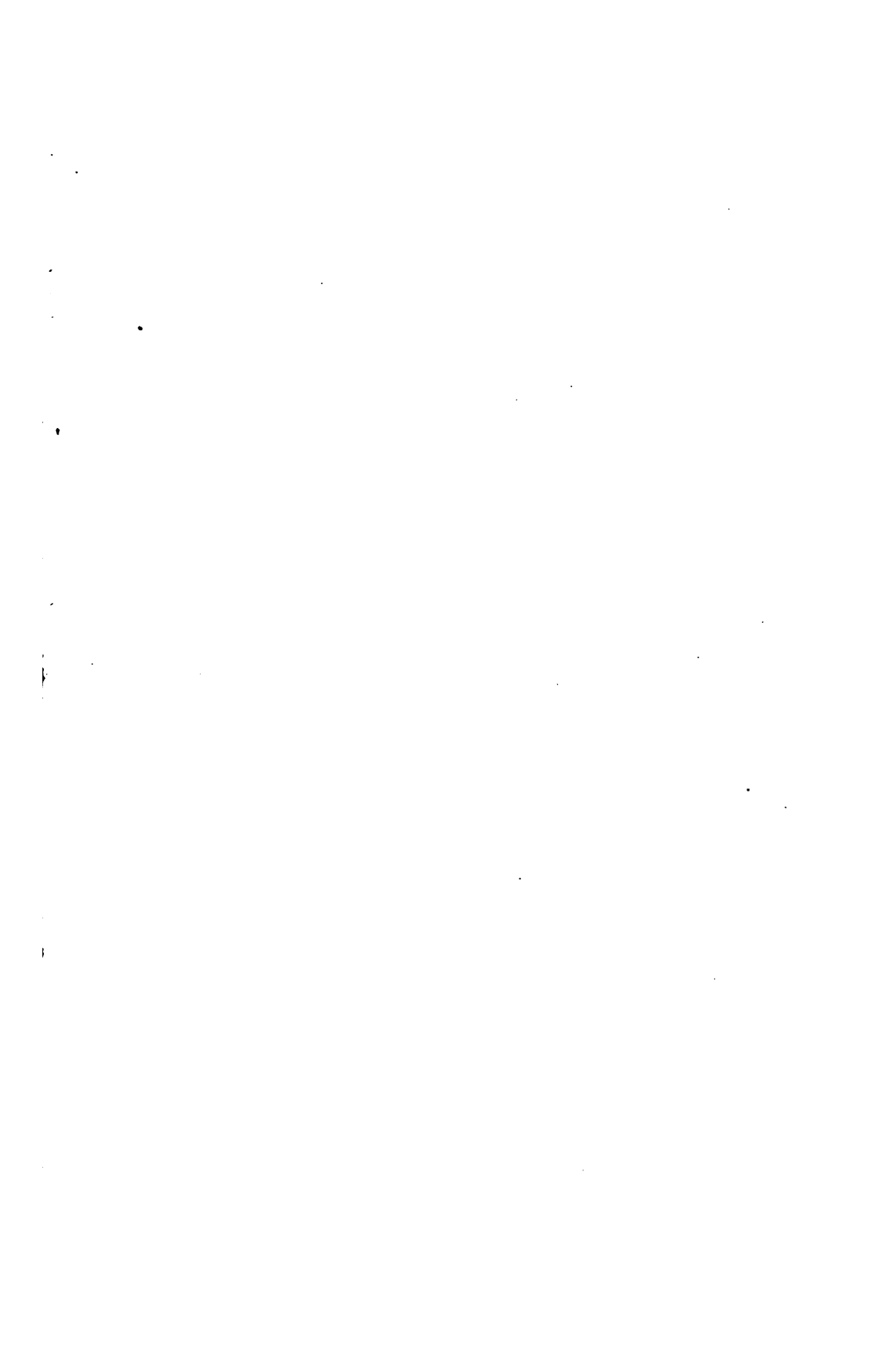
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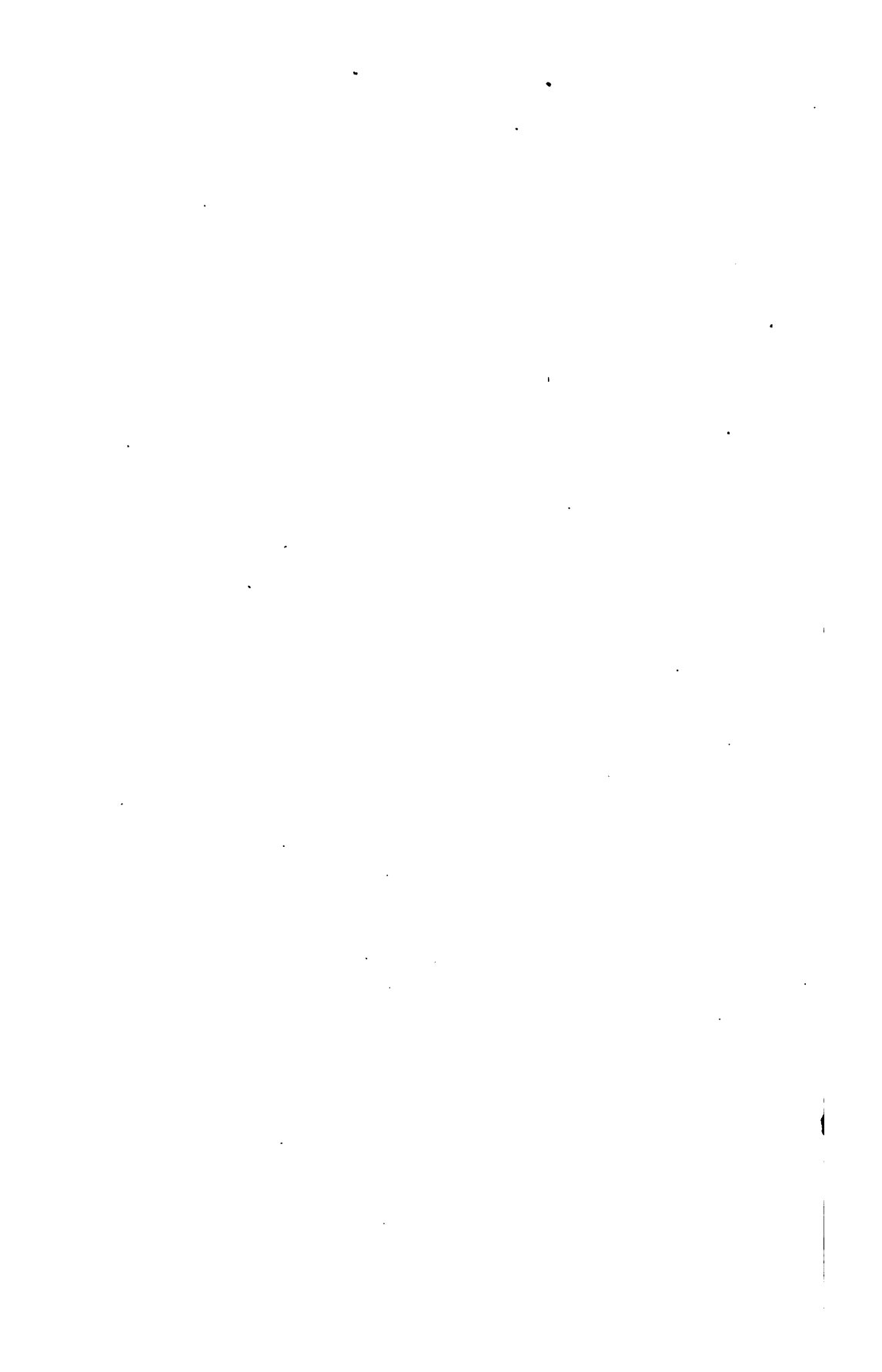




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**THE FUNERAL ORATION OF HYPERIDES OVER
LEOSTHENES AND HIS COMRADES IN
THE LAMIAN WAR.**

**This Volume is in every respect uniform with Mr BABINGTON'S edition of the
Orations of Hyperides for Lycophron and for Euxenippus.**

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THE LAMIAN WAR.

THE TEXT EDITED WITH NOTES AND AN INTRODUCTION

By CHURCHILL BABINGTON, B.D. F.L.S.

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LYCOPHRON, FOR EUXENIPPUS, AND AGAINST DEMOSTHENES, ETC.

*Hyperidis oratio funebris cum ceteris viri fecundissimi scriptis diu multumque
desideratur. Tour. ad Longin. § 24.*

Hæc oratio apud veteres clarissima fuit. SAUFF. Fragm. Oratt. Att. p. 202.

THE SECOND EDITION, CORRECTED.

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290. c. 47.



PREFACE.

THE Papyrus, on which the Funeral Oration of Hyperides is written, was found in the neighbourhood of Egyptian Thebes, and was brought to England about the end of 1856 by the Rev. H. Stobart, M.A. It is now in the British Museum (*Papyri*, No. xcvi). A full account of it may be seen in my large edition, which contains likewise an engraved facsimile of the whole¹. The characters and marks used in the MS. (much resembling the Herculansian Papyri) appear to indicate that it is at least as old as the second century after Christ. Two other Greek hands on the back of the papyrus lead to the same conclusion.

It is reasonable to suppose that it contains the greater part of the speech, which is alike valuable in a historical point of view, and as being one of the most celebrated, if not the most celebrated, of all the oratorical efforts of the author. Its genuineness is proved by the quotations made from it by the grammarians. (See Cols. 8 and 10 of the papyrus.) At the same time it is fortunate that the long and magnificent passage of this speech, preserved by Stobæus, is among the missing portions of the papyrus. It is evident that it formed the epilogue or a great part of it, whereas the fragments of the papyrus appear to begin at the commencement of the oration, and to go forwards, with two or three slight interruptions, as far as fourteen columns: so that

¹ It must be sufficient to say here that the MS. was broken up into many pieces, which after transcribing I was able to arrange or unite (one excepted, containing only a few letters): Columns 3—12 are undoubtedly continuous: columns 13, 14 form one piece, which probably immediately followed them. Columns 1 and 2 (now in separate pieces) in all likelihood were the first two columns of the MS.

from the papyrus and Stobæus together we obtain almost the whole speech, except some portion (probably a small one) that immediately preceded the epilogue. I incline to think that they comprise the whole within four or five columns. Hyperides tells us expressly that this is no time for making a long address, and he appears to have gone pretty fully through the matters of which he declares his intention to treat: *viz.* praise of Athens, of the soldiers, and of their general, Leosthenes. Even before the point where the papyrus breaks off, the orator, having apparently concluded his historical remarks, has been giving a free rein to declamation and imagery, thus naturally preparing the way for his splendid epilogue, and the termination of the whole. The *ἐπιτάφιος* of Pseudo-Demosthenes, which I conceive to be a sophistical production, and to be modelled upon the work of Hyperides (see Appendix A.) would occupy about sixteen columns of the papyrus, or about three columns more than we now have of the *ἐπιτάφιος* of Hyperides. The *ἐπιτάφιος* of Pericles is of much the same length as the extant remains of our speech.

In an appendix two dissertations are added, one on the funeral orations of the Greeks, and another on the divine honours paid to Alexander. Although they may contain but little which is new or original, they may perhaps be useful as combining various facts and opinions which are scattered about in different authors.

With regard to the notation employed in this edition, when an asterisk is prefixed to a word it indicates that the MS. reading has been altered; when an obelus is prefixed, that the MS. reading is considered by me to be corrupt or suspicious. The letters inclosed in square brackets [] are wholly missing in the MS.;

those included in parentheses () are only partially or doubtfully legible. The lines of the text correspond with the lines in the columns of the papyrus; a new paragraph being denoted by the symbol ¶.

In the present Volume the argument, the text, and the notes of the larger edition are retained entire, with such alterations as further consideration or the suggestions of others have rendered necessary.

Since the publication of the first edition, this oration, as was to be expected, has occupied the attention of many foreign scholars. In France M. Dehèque has reprinted my text at Paris (Didot) with a spirited translation and introduction of his own, and the addition of a few notes. At Valenciennes also M. Caffiaux has issued a translation, well calculated to give his countrymen an idea of the meaning and elegance of the original. In Germany Herr Kayser of Heidelberg has published a recension of the text in the *Jahrbucher für Class. Philologie* for 1858¹. Besides his own conjectures several are named as due to Classen, Vömel, and Spengel. Many of the emendations are excellent: in other instances they seem to me less successful. Several good suggestions are also made by Dr J. Cæsar of Marburg in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthums Wissenschaft* (Suppl. Heft, 1857). At Rome likewise this oration has received the careful attention of Sig. Comparetti, whose review of my edition is printed in the *Rheinisches Museum* for 1858². To all these scholars

¹ See also his review in *Heidell. Jahrb.* 1858, n. 36.

² I did not see this last till it was almost too late to make any use of it: but in several cases where I have deviated from the first edition, the same correction had occurred to him. Spengel's short review in the *München Gel. Anz.* I have not seen; I understand that he proposes *παρόδους* for *εισόδους* in Col. 6, l. 23: and certainly this seems to be right.

my best thanks are due for the favorable manner in which they have noticed my labours.

The most valuable contribution however to the criticism of this oration is from the pen of Herr Cobet of Leyden. Dogmatic and impetuous as it is, like some other works by the same acute and learned author, it is impossible to deny that it is a production of rare merit. It was not to be expected that my edition, which adhered to the MS. whenever its readings seemed capable of a tolerable explanation, should find much favour with one whose hyper-Attic notions and love of conjectural changes are so notorious. He adopts however the great majority of my restorations, several of the readings with which he finds most fault having been already retracted by myself in the postscript, which was wanting in his copy¹. In other cases he has restored the true text where I have missed it. At the same time Cobet is no more infallible than his neighbours, and in some points where he attacks the text of the first edition he is palpably mistaken, as will appear in part from the present work.

In noticing the various conjectures of scholars on different passages, I have confined myself in general to such as seemed to have some probability in their favour; and have not thought it necessary uniformly to enumerate the errors into which I myself or others may have fallen. Thus there are many readings in my first edition, and also in the editions of Kayser and Cobet and in other places, which are here passed over in silence.

¹ This postscript, containing various suggestions by Prof. Sauppe and other friends, may be had by those in whose copies it is wanting on application to the publishers. Since it was written I have examined the papyrus afresh with especial reference to the readings of the later editors.

ANCIENT NOTICES OF THE FUNERAL ORATION OF HYPERIDES.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS.

(Lived about 78—7 B.C.)

“Ονομά γε μὴν ἀμφοῖν (i. e. to the public and particular speeches) ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, ἐπιτάφιος οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενος· παραδείγματα αὐτῶν ἐστὶ πον καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, τοῦ μὲν κοινοῦ καὶ πολιτικοῦ παρὰ γε τῷ τοῦ Ὀλόρου καὶ παρὰ τῷ τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος· Λυσίας τε, καὶ Ὑπερίδης, καὶ ὁ Παιανιεύς, καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ἰσοκράτους ἐταῖρος Ναυκράτης, πολλὰς ἡμῖν τοιαύτας ἰδέας παρέσχοντο. οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν δ’ οὐδὲ τῶν πρὸς ἑκαστον· ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ ποιήματα μεστὰ τούτων, οἱ ἐπικῆδαιοι οὕτως ὀνομαζόμενοι, θρῆνοί τε ὡσαύτως οὕτως. *Ars Rhetor.* c. 6. *De Oratione Funebri.*

DIODORUS THE SICILIAN.

(Wrote his history about 8 B.C.)

Τῇ τρίτῃ δ’ ἡμέρᾳ τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ (Λεωσθένους) καὶ ταφέντος ἥρωικῶς διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δόξαν, ὁ μὲν δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἔπαινον εἰπεῖν προσέταξεν Ὑπερίδῃ τῷ πρωτεύοντι τῶν ῥητόρων τῇ τοῦ λόγου δεινότητι καὶ τῇ κατὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀλλοτριότητι. *Lib. xviii. c. 13.*

PSEUDO-PLUTARCH.

(Age late, but uncertain; before Photius, who imitates him.)

Ἐκοινωνήσε δὲ καὶ Λεωσθένει τοῦ Λαμιακοῦ πολέμου, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς πεσοῦσιν εἶπε τὸν ἐπιτάφιον θανμασίως. *Vit. x. Oratt. (Hyperides) int. Opp. Plutarch.* p. 849.

LONGINUS.

(Lived about 213—273 A.D.)

Οἰκτίσασθαί τε προσφνέστατος (Ὑπερίδης), ἔτι δὲ μυθολογῆσαι κεχυμένος καὶ ἐν ὑγρῷ πνεύματι διεξοδεῦσαι ἔτι εὐκαμπῆς ἄκρως· ὥσπερ ἀμελεῖ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν Λητὴν ποιητικώτερα, τὸν δ' ἐπιτάφιον ἐπιδεικτικῶς, ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τις ἄλλος, διέθετο. *De Sublim.* c. 34.

HARPOCRATION.

(Age uncertain, perhaps the fourth century after Christ.)

Ὅτι τις (Dr A. Schäfer (*in litt.*) conjectures δις) ἐγίγνετο σύνοδος τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων εἰς Πύλας Ὑπερίδης τε ἐν ἐπιταφίῳ καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ λ'. εἰρήκασι. s. v. Πύλαι. (The passage referred to occurs in col. 8 of the papyrus.)

THEON OF ALEXANDRIA.

(Probably lived in the fourth or fifth century after Christ.)

Ἔχομεν δὲ καὶ Ἰσοκράτους μὲν τὰ ἐγκώμια, Πλάτωνος δὲ καὶ Θουκυδίδου καὶ Ὑπερίδου καὶ Λυσίου τοὺς ἐπιταφίους. *Progymnasm.* c. 2. (*Rhet. Gr.* Vol. II. p. 68, Ed. Speng.)

PHOTIUS, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

(His *Bibliotheca* written some time before 858 A.D., when he became Patriarch.)

Ἐκοινώνησε δὲ (Ὑπερείδης) καὶ τοῦ Λαμμακοῦ πολέμου τῷ Δημόσθενει, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεσοῦσιν ἐπιτάφιον εἶπεν, πολλῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ θαῦμα καὶ ἔπαινον καρπωσάμενος. *Bibl. Cod.* 266. Ed. Bekk.

(For Δημοσθένει we should no doubt read Λεωσθένει.)

THE ARGUMENT.

IN the spring of the year 323 B.C. Leosthenes, an Athenian officer, whose previous history is little known, collected together and brought over to Cape Tænarum, at the extremity of Laconia, about 8,000 mercenaries, whom Alexander a little before his death (which took place in June) had ordered the Asiatic satraps to disband. Upon the rumour of Alexander's death, as it seems, they were joined by the Persian generals, who brought money and arms. Leosthenes was appointed their commander-in-chief, and proceeded secretly to engage the services of the Ætolians, so as to raise a force capable of opposing the Macedonian interest. When all doubt was removed about Alexander's death, the Greeks, encouraged by embassies from Athens, acted more openly; and the Locrians, Phocians, Thessalians, many of the Peloponnesians, and various other tribes, gradually flocked to the standard of Leosthenes. Athens herself, animated principally by Hyperides, contributed 5,000 foot, 500 horse, and 2,000 mercenaries, besides a considerable fleet. The allies, in their march through Bœotia to encounter Antipater, who was coming down from Macedonia into Thessaly, completely defeated the Bœotians, Eubœans, and other allies of Macedonia near Platæa, and having erected a trophy withdrew to Thermopylæ. Here Antipater himself comes up, and is so completely routed in a battle near the spot that he dare neither hazard a second attack nor retreat into

Macedonia. He accordingly throws himself into the small but well fortified town of Lamia, about four miles distant inland. Leosthenes and the Pan-hellenic army surround the city with a trench, but being unable to storm it they convert the siege into a blockade. In the midst of all this a sally takes place, in which Leosthenes is struck on the head by a stone discharged from a catapult on the city walls, and dies within three days afterwards. He and his comrades were buried with heroic honours in the Cerameicus, near the Academy at Athens; and the orator appointed by the people on the occasion was Hyperides¹.

Hyperides opens his address by observing, that his remarks about the conduct and bravery of Leosthenes and his companions would be delivered before those who were themselves witnesses of them, and that under such circumstances, he must ask the indulgence of his auditors for any shortcomings in describing them: they would, however, readily supply in their own minds any omissions which he might unconsciously make². (Col. 1, 2.) The division of his subject is threefold: praise of the city, of the soldiers, and of their general. Athens is to be congratulated for having pursued a policy worthy of her best days and even surpassing it. Time would

¹ Further information respecting Leosthenes and the Lamian war may be seen in Thirlwall's *Hist. of Greece*, Vol. vii. c. lvi. pp. 163—178. Grote's *Hist. of Greece*, Vol. xii. c. xcv. pp. 418—426. Niebuhr's *Lect. on Anc. Hist.* Vol. iii. Lect. lxxxi. lxxxii. pp. 25—35, Pauly's *Real Encycl.* s. v. Lamischer Krieg, and Smith's *Dict. Biogr. and Myth.* s. v. Leosthenes, where the original authorities are referred to. It is difficult, however, to deduce an accurate and consistent account of all the details.

² Here and elsewhere I have given pretty freely what appears to be the sense of the mutilated papyrus; in other places I have endeavoured to show by a free paraphrase, how I understand the Greek text; but no part of the following argument is to be looked on as a translation.

fail (and this is no fitting occasion for a long speech) to go through the glories of her past history, but it might be said in a word, that she was the sun of Greece, diffusing light and nourishment and happiness throughout the whole Hellenic world. (Col. 3, 4). He must now come to the soldiers and their general, and he scarcely knows where to begin. Not by enlarging on their birth, for it is superfluous to recount the pedigrees of Athenians, whose common origin from their mother-soil gives them all a title to the noblest descent. Neither is it necessary to say much on their education, for it is clear, that those who have proved themselves good men and true in the service of their country, must, when young, have been well-educated. (Col. 4, 5.) It is best to speak of their valour in war, and to show what blessings they have insured to their country and to Greece. And herein Leosthenes is entitled to be mentioned first. He saw Greece wholly prostrate and her former prosperity destroyed through the venality of her Macedonizing orators: there was no city to take the lead, there was no general to assume the command. He himself then filled the void, and devoted himself to his country, and his country to the liberties of Greece. Hyperides then runs rapidly through the details of the war and the exploits at Plataea, at Thermopylae (with a passing allusion to Leonidas), and at Lamia. (Col. 5, 6). In all these engagements Leosthenes obtained his desires, but he could not withstand his destiny. Glorious, however, as his victories were, we owe him thanks not only for them, but for the successes which followed in the same campaign. Upon the foundations laid by him, others have built a secure superstructure. These encomiums on Leosthenes must not be understood as a slight on those who served under him; rather they involve the commendation of the rest; for the glory of skilfully

planning an engagement belongs to the general, but that of its success to those who bravely carry it out at their own personal hazard. Consequently, when the victories of Leosthenes are praised, the other soldiers are praised likewise: men whose zeal for the freedom of Greece was so ardent, that they willingly offered their lives to secure it. It added spurs to their enthusiasm that they had seen with their own eyes in Bœotia at the outset of the campaign, what atrocities the Macedonians had perpetrated at Thebes: a city blotted out of the map of Greece, its inhabitants sold, its territory confiscated. And it was no less fortunate, that the latter part of the expedition ended at Thermopylæ and Lamia. At that sacred spot the representatives of Greece, assembled in the Amphictyonic Council, would every year bear testimony to their valour, and be witnesses of the exploits which these men had performed, who were indeed second to none that had ever gone before them in the annals of mankind. (Col. 7, 8.) And this will become yet more evident, if we consider what must have happened, if they had not done their duty in this war. The world would have been subjected to one despot, whose will would have been law; Macedonian insolence would have been unrestrained everywhere; rapes and outrages would have been incessant. Of this there can be no doubt, for even as it is, we have been obliged to acknowledge men (i. e. Alexander) as gods, and their creatures (i. e. Hephæstion) as heroes; and if the powers above have been set at nought by Macedonians, what might men have had to expect? (Col. 9.) Again, not only these considerations, but a survey of the actual hardships of the war places the courage of these men in no ordinary rank. Unintermitted engagements, intense severity of cold, and privation of the necessities of life, they cheerfully and unflinchingly endured.

Leosthenes, then, who incited the army to such deeds of self-devotion, and those who acted with him, are rather to be envied for their gain of immortal glory, than to be pitied for their loss of mortal life. For valour in war not only brings independence, but universal happiness follows in its train. For the truly happy man must be subject not to the threats of tyrants, but to the voice of law, must fear not being charged with crimes, but only being found guilty of them: the security of states must depend not on those who fawn on foreign masters, but on those who urge the observance of their country's laws. And to defend these laws these men died; they died valiantly that others might live well and happily. By their means their fathers will be honoured, their mothers looked up to, their sisters wedded in such manner as it is meet (Col. 10); their children will have the virtue of these deathless men as a ground for receiving support at the charges of the state. For men like these must not be spoken of as dead,—rather as enjoying an endless life in a new station assigned to them. For if death, so painful to others, is to them the gate of unspeakable blessings; how can we talk of them as having quitted life, and not rather as having been regenerated by a new birth far more glorious than their first? For at their first birth they were brought forth senseless babes, but they have now come forth in another world as brave men; and in their mortal life they displayed their courage over many scenes and amid many dangers, but they now commence their new course, having the reputation of this to begin with, and are acknowledged as glorious warriors both there and here. Yea, verily! for what occasion will fail to remind us of their valour? what place will not call forth their praises? The public rejoicings of the state will remind us that these men have been the cause of its prosperity;

the private festivities of citizens will call to mind that these men have been the cause of their security. (Col. 11.) Men of all ages will arise and call them blessed; the old, because they will lead the rest of their life in peace through the courage of these patriots; those of their own age, because the young, because They have left their valour behind them as a pattern and encouragement to all. And worthy is this valour to be commemorated, aye far more than the mythical exploits of the heroes before Troy. If we listen for the sake of mere pleasure to the hardships which the Greeks there endured, the same delight arises from the deeds of those who have rescued their country from the Macedonians; if for the sake of the profit resulting therefrom, what discourse can be more profitable to the auditors than that which should pronounce a panegyric on valour and on brave men? (Col. 12.) It is evident then that such men as Leosthenes will ever be held in honour among ourselves and all other men; but let us inquire who will salute him in another world. Will not the Grecian heroes who sailed to Troy accost him, and admire him for the deeds he has done and the spirit he has shown? deeds like theirs, indeed, but superior; for they, united with all Greece, took but one city, but he, depending only on his own country¹, humbled the power of all Europe and Asia. They only vindicated a single Helen's wrongs, but he and his comrades have defended the women of all Greece from Macedonian insolence and outrage. (Col. 13.) Even with regard to Miltiades and Themistocles and the rest, who saved Greece from slavery and rendered themselves immortal, they were so far below Leosthenes that they only repelled the barbarians after they had invaded Greece, but he prevented

¹ Of course the historical accuracy of all this must not be scrutinized too nicely.

them from ever invading it at all. Nay, even Harmodius and Aristogeiton, your most glorious patriots, would not be considered by the heroes so dear to themselves or to you as Leosthenes and his comrades, and they would not associate with them in Hades so intimately as with these. And with reason; for the deeds of Leosthenes and his companions are, if one may say it, even superior to their own; for they destroyed the tyrants merely of Athens, but Leosthenes the tyrants of all Greece. Marvellous daring, magnanimous resolve, which these men both conceived and executed! Brilliant exploits of unexampled bravery, which these men went through to secure the liberties of Greece, and in going through them died! (Col. 14.) * * *

But I must now turn to the survivors. It is a difficult task to administer consolation to those who are visited with such an affliction, as can be soothed neither by the strains of music¹ nor by the voice of reason; yet let them take courage and abate somewhat of their grief, if that may be, by remembering not only the death which their friends have suffered, but the glory which they have left behind them. And if they have not reached the allotted age of man, yet they have become possessed of more than mortal happiness and of a memory which will be ever young. Such as have died childless will have an eternal name amongst the Greeks in place of sons and of daughters; such as have left children behind them will find in the State the tenderest guardians of their offspring. And beside this, if death is all one with non-existence, then are they free from disease and grief and all the other calamities which are incident to human life; but if, as we suppose, there is a world of conscious spirits over which the Deity exercises his care, then must we conclude that

¹ See however the notes.

those will receive his most favourable notices, who have avenged the insulted honours of the gods. (Epilogue preserved in Stobæus.)

The date of the speech is later than the victories of Antiphilus, the successor of Leosthenes, to which it alludes: it must therefore be placed (as it seems) at the beginning of 322 B.C.¹

¹ It is certain from the oration itself that Leosthenes and his army had endured the severity of a long winter: the appointment of Antiphilus had also been made and the news of his success had reached Athens before Hyperides delivered his address. Consequently the oration must either be assigned to the very end of B.C. 323, or else to the beginning of 322.

THE
FUNERAL ORATION
OF
HYPERIDES OVER LEOSTHENES
AND HIS COMRADES
IN THE LAMIAN WAR.

Col. 1.

ΤΩΝ μὲν λόγων τ[ῶν μελ]-
[λ](ό)ντων ῥηθήσεσ[θαι ἐπὶ]
τῷδε τῷ τάφῳ [περί τε]
Λεωσθένους τοῦ στ[ρατη]
5 (γ)οῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλ[λων]
τῶν μετ' ἐκείνου [τετε]-

Col. 1. 1. 1. [περὶ] τῶν. Ed. pr. 1. 3. περὶ Λ. Ed. pr.

Besides the following fragments there is a morsel which I cannot unite with any of them, but which possibly belonged to Col. 3: it consists of the following letters in three lines: αλλο | πολλ | γεν.

Col. 1. 1. 1. I now adopt the suggestion of Professor Sauppe that περὶ should be expunged, and τε inserted before Λεωσθένους. Cobet makes the same corrections.

1. 3. ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ τάφῳ] εἴληφε τὴν προσηγορίαν (ὁ ἐπιτάφιος λόγος)...ἀπὸ τοῦ λέγεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ σήματι. Menand. περὶ ἐπιδεικτ. (*Rhet. Gr.* Vol. III. p. 418, Speng.) See also Schäf. on Demosth. p. 1388. Leosthenes was buried with heroic honors (ἡρωικῶς Diod. Sic. XVIII. 13), and his tomb (which included his companions) in the outer Ceraeicus near the Academy, was seen by Pausanias (I. 29) in the second century. Nothing is now to be seen there "except a few fragments and foundations scattered over an open plain." Leake, *Topogr. of Athens*, Vol. I. p. 593. (2d ed.)

18 FUNERAL ORATION OF HYPERIDES OVER LEOSTHENES.

λευτηκότων ἐν τ[ῷ πο]-
 [λ]έμῳ ὡς ἦ(σαν ἄν)[δρες]
 [ἀ]γαθοὶ, μά[ρτυρες]
 10 - - - - ρον ὅσοι - - - -
 - - - - ὦ τὰ(ς) π(ρ)[άξεις]
 - - - - -ς ἀνθρῳ[π] - - - -
 - - - - (ο)ν πω κα - - - -
 - - - - [ἐ](ρ)γα *καὶ ὦ - - - -
 15 - - - - ἀντιαι ὦ - - - -
 - - - - ἐγεννη - - - -
 - - - - ἄνδρας - - - -
 - - - - τετελε(ν)[τηκότας]
 - - - - οὔτε πρ - - - -
 20 - - - - (ο)τ - - - -
 * * * * *

Col. 2.

* * * * *

- - - - - ἐπει - - - -
 καὶ μάλιστα [φοβοῦ]-
 μαι μή μοι συμ[βῇ τὸν]
 [λ]όγον ἐλάττ[ω φαί]-
 5 [ν]εσθαι τῶν ἔρ[γων]
 [τ]ῶν γεγεννη[μέ]-

Col. 1, l. 14, *κενω* MS., but the *ν* is cancelled.

Col. 2, l. 4, *ελλαττ* MS. l. 6, *γεγεννη* MS.

Col. 1. l. 13. "Superest ONΠΩKA ΟΓAKEN, litteræ O dimidia pars tantum extat, et Γ quod sequitur male scriptum pro P suspicor" (it may possibly be a P in the MS.) "unde emerget: οὐδὲν ἔργον πω κάλλιον ἑώρακεν nempe ὁ πᾶς χρόνος αὐτὸς ὁ χρόνος ὁ σύμπασις, quorum verborum manifesta vestigia extant paullo ante ΠΟΝΟCΟ..." Cobet, who refers to Simonides (ap. Diod. xi. 62) and adds, "His igitur adjutus aliquis plura exculpat." It is to be feared that these aids are of a somewhat questionable character; I suspect that εἰς τὸ παρὸν followed μάρτυρες.

Col. 2, l. 3. ὁ ξυνειδὼς καὶ εὐνοεῖ ἀκροατὴς τάχ' ἂν τι ἐνδεεστέρας πρὸς αὐτὸ βούλεται τε καὶ ἐπίσταται νομίσειε δηλοῦσθαι. Thuc. ii. 35.

- [ν]ων· πλὴν κατ' [ἐκεῖ]-
νό γε *πάλιν θ[ἀρῶ ὁ]-
τι τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ κ[αταλει]-
10 πόμενα ὑμεῖ(s) οἱ (ἀ)-
κούνοντες πρ[ο]σθή-
σετε· οὐ γάρ(ρ) ἐν τοῖς τυ-
χοῦσιν οἱ λόγοι ῥηθή-
σονται, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτοῖς
15 τοῖ[s] μάρτυσι τῶν *ἐκείνους

Col. 3.

- [πε]πραγμένων. Ἦ' Ἀξιον δ' ἐ-
[σ]τὶν ἐπαινεῖν τὴν μὲν
[πόλ](ι)ν ἡμῶν τῆς προαιρέ-
[σεω]ς ἕνεκεν τὸ προε-
5 [λέσ]θαι ὅμοια καὶ ἔτι σε-
[μνό]τερα καὶ καλλίω (τῶ)ν
[πρό]τερον αὐτῇ πεπρα-
[γμέ]νων, τοὺς δὲ τετε-
[λευ]τηκότας τῆς ἀνδρεί-
10 [α]ς τῆς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ

Col. 2, l. 8, παλι MS. The restorations are by Professor Sauppe: similarly Cobet and Spengel. l. 10, υμειν MS., possibly, but the last letter is much mutilated. l. 12, ετοις MS.; before it the reading looks more like γαι. l. 15, τρι MS.; after των the MS. seems to have εινους rather than ειναι; whence Sauppe, Spengel, and Cæsar conjecture ἐκείνους, which I now adopt instead of ἐκεῖ.

Col. 3, l. 2, ην, l. 3, ης MS.

Col. 2. l. 7. πλὴν] Cf. Luc. *Lapith.* § 11. (Vol. III. p. 425, Reitz.) εἰσιτιώμεθα οὖν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ παρεσκεύαστο ποικίλα· πλὴν οὐδὲν, οἶμαι, χρη καὶ ταῦτα καταριθμεῖσθαι, χυμῶν καὶ πέμματα καὶ καρνεκίας· ἅπαντα γὰρ ἦν ἄφθονα. This use of πλὴν is principally found in late authors.

l. 9. καταλειπόμενα] παραλειπόμενα would be the more natural reading.

Col. 3, l. 3. προαιρέσεως] Diodorus (xviii. 10) says that the majority were anxious for war, but that the rich citizens were opposed to it. Hyperides and Leosthenes, who were soon afterwards joined by Demosthenes, were the most prominent among the war-party. See Plut. *Phoc.* p. 752. Pseudo-Plut. *Vit. X. Oratt.* p. 849. Just. xiii. 5.

- τὸ μὴ καταισχῦναι τὰς
 τῶν προγόνων ἀρετὰς,
 τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν Λεωσ-
 θένη δι' ἀμφοτέρα τῆς
 15 τε γὰρ προαιρέσεως εἰς-
 ηγητῆς τῇ πόλει ἐγένε-
 το, καὶ τῆς στρατείας ἡ-
 γεμῶν τοῖς πολίταις
 κατέστη. ¶ Περὶ μὲν οὖν
 20 [τ]ῆς πόλεως διεξιέναι
 [τ](ἀ) καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν πρό-
 [τε]ρον πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλά-
 [δα] οὔτε ὁ χρόνος ὁ παρ-
 [ὼ]ν ἰκανὸς οὔτε ὁ και-
 25 [ρός] ἀρμόττων τῷ μα-
 [κρ]ολογεῖν οὔτε ῥάδι-
 [ον] ἓνα ὄντα τοσαύ-
 [τας] καὶ τηλικαύτας πρά-
 [ξεις] *ἐπελθεῖν καὶ μνη-
 30 [μο]νεῦσαι, ἐπὶ κεφαλαί-
 [ου δὲ] οὐκ ὀκνήσω εἰπεῖν

Col. 3, l. 14, δια MS. l. 16, πολι MS. l. 18, πολεῖταις MS. l. 21.

[τ]ο κ. ε. MS. possibly. l. 22, προτερῶν MS. l. 25, τω MS. and so often, but more usually τωι. l. 29, ἀπελθεῖν MS. l. 31, ὀκνήσω MS.

Col. 3. l. 15. εἰσηγητῆς] See Diod. Sic. xiv. 9.

l. 21. τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον] in the particulars. Cf. Dionys. Hal. *Ars Rhet.* c. 6. § 2, ἐπὶ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον (*particular persons*) οὐ πᾶν τι ἀναγκαῖος ὁ πολὺς περὶ τῆς πατρίδος λόγος. See also § 5. Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* ii. 9, 7. χαλεπὸν δὲ ἴσως τοῦτο καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστον. See also iii. 15. The expression διεξιέναι πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα (*to go through the history of all Greece*) is somewhat awkward: it is possible that the words πεπραγμένων κατὰ may have been accidentally omitted after πρότερον: in that case τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον will be the accusative after διεξιέναι, and the sentence will run smoothly. This is also substantially Cobet's view. Sauppe thinks that for τὰ κ. ε. we should read α, and that εὐηργέτησεν or some such word has been omitted by the scribe after Ἑλλάδα.

l. 30. ἐπὶ κεφαλαίον] Sauppe and Cobet prefer κεφαλαίων. Both expressions are good. See Hase and Dindorf *Gr. Thes.* s. v. The singular is probably the true reading in Hyperid. c. *Demosth.* fr. l. col. 1.

[περ]ὶ αὐτῆς. ὥσπερ
[γάρ] ὁ ἥλιος πᾶσαν

Col. 4.

τὴν οἶκον[μένη]ν ἐπέρ-
χεται τὰ[s μὲν] (ῶ)ρας δι-
ακρίνων [αἰὲ κατὰ τὸ π](ρ)έπον
καὶ καλο[ύς καιροὺς καθι]στὰς
5 τοῖς δὲ ----- εἰ
ικεσ(τ) ----- ων
επι(μ) ----- (α)ι γε
(ν) ----- s καὶ
[πλε]ονά[ζοντας τῶν ᾗ](λ)λων
10 (ἀ)[πά]ντων τῶ(ν εἰ)s τὸν
β[ί]ον χρησίμων, οὕτως
κ[αὶ ἡ] πόλις ἡμῶν διατε-
(λ)[εἶ του](ς μ)ὲν κακοὺς κολά-

Col. 3, l. 33, πασαν is erroneously repeated in the MS.

Col. 4, l. 13, κακον MS. l. 14, δικαιος MS.

Col. 3. l. 33. ὁ ἥλιος] Cf. Menander περὶ ἐπιδεικτ. (*Rhet. Gr.* Vol. III. p. 382, Speng.) ἐγὼ δὲ ἀγαπῶ τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ πατρίδα καὶ νομίζω μηδὲν διαφέρειν τὴν περὶ ταύτην ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς περὶ τὴν ἀκτῖνα, ἣν ὁ ἥλιος ἐξ ὠκεανοῦ ἐκτείνει, φανείς. Hyperides probably went on to add, that the sun put to flight noisome damps, &c.; corresponding to τοὺς κακοὺς. Somewhat similarly Socrates observes, τὸν ἥλιον, ἐπειδὴν ἐν χειμῶνι τράπηται, προσιέναι τὰ μὲν ἀδρύνοντα, τὰ δὲ ξηραίνοντα, ὧν καιρὸς διελήλυθεν...καὶ ἐνταῦθα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀναστρέφεσθαι, ἔνθα ὧν μάλιστα ἡμᾶς ὠφελοίη. (*Xen. Mem. Socr.* iv. 3, 8.)

Col. 4, l. 2.] Cobet reads τὰς μὲν ὥρας διακρίνων κατὰ τρόπον (certainly against the MS.) καὶ καλῶς πάντα καθιστάς. Nothing can be more frigid than πάντα, whether καιροὺς be the true reading or not. I do not quite see the force of his criticism: 'Neque τὸ πρέπον in his locum ullum habet, neque sol calous καιροὺς affert, neque καιροὺς καθιστάναι Græcum est.'

l. 10. ἀπάντων] Cobet is quite right in changing my πάντων into ἀπάντων: there is a trace of the α in the MS.

l. 13. τοὺς μὲν κακοὺς κ.τ.λ.] (οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι) νόμῳ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τιμῶντες καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς κολάζοντες. *Lys. Epitaph.* § 19. (p. 192, St.) For this and for what follows compare also *Isocr. Paneg.* pp. 45, 48, St. and *Thucyd.* ii. 37, 40, 41. The restorations are of course more or less uncertain in this column: instead of ἀνθρώποις κ.τ.λ. a friend suggests τὸ δὲ ἴσον ἀντὶ τῆς πλεονεξίας ἄπασιν, τὸ δὲ πλεον οἷς δεῖ διαδίδουσα. Compare *Lys. Epitaph.* § 56.

- ζ(ο)[υσα τοὺς] δὲ δικάϊους
 15 [τιμῶσα], (τ)ὸ δὲ ἴσον ἀν-
 [θρώποις καὶ ἀ]ξίας ἅπασιν
 [ἀμοιβὰς] οἷς δεῖ δι-
 [ανέμουσα κα]ὶ δαπά-
 να(ς) [τὰς καθ' ἡμέρ]αν τοῖς
 20 Ἑλλη[σι παρασκε](υ)άζου-
 σα. ¶[Περὶ μὲν οὖ]ν τῶν
 κοινῶ[ν ἔργων τῆς πόλ]εως
 ὥσπερ [ἐν βραχεὶ εἴρητ]αι †αλι-
 φω, πε(ρ)[ὶ δὲ Λεωσθέν]ους καὶ
 25 τῶν ἄ[λλων ἥδη τοὺς λόγ]ους ποι-
 ῆσο(μ)[αι. ἀπορ](ῶ) δὲ πόθεν
 ἄρξωμα[ι λέγειν,] ἢ τίνος
 πρῶτον μνησθῶ; πότε-
 ρα περ[ὶ] τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν
 30 ἐκάστου διεξέλθω; ἀλλ' εὖ-
 ηθες εἶναι ὑπολαμβάνω.

Col. 4, l. 26, ὥν δὲ Ed. pr. which seems too little for the space.
 l. 30, ἐκαστῷ MS. apparently.

Col. 4. l. 17. ἀμοιβὰς] Cobet's restoration in place of my *εὐεργεσίας* and a somewhat better one, to whom *τιμῶσα* is also due.

l. 18. δαπάνας] In allusion to the mercenaries in the pay of Athens apparently.

l. 19. τὰς καθ' ἡμέραν] εἰς τὸ κ. ἡ. Cobet.

l. 21. περὶ μὲν οὖν κ. τ. λ.] Kayser suggests: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ καθ' ἑκάστον τῶν κοινῶν ἔργων τῆς πόλεως, ὥσπερ εἶπον, φράσαι χαλεπὸν, περὶ Λ. κ. τ. λ. which makes very good sense, and is perhaps right, though not very near the MS.: τὰ καθ' is too much for the space and might perhaps be cancelled.

l. 23. †αλιφω] The error of the scribe lessens the small chance that might have remained of restoring the text: the MS. seems to have αλιφω or αμφω.

l. 26. ἀπορῶ δὲ κ. τ. λ.] Cf. Plat. *Menex.* p. 236 κ. Pseudo-Demosth. *Epitaph.* p. 1393. also Demosth. *de Cor.* p. 270, ἀπορῶ τοῦ πρώτου μνησθῶ, cited by Cobet.

l. 27. λέγειν] This restoration of Cobet's suits the space better than my *ἐπαινῶν*.

l. 28. πρῶτον] Cobet unnecessarily, as it seems, alters the MS. reading to *πρώτου*. There is no reason why both expressions may not be good.

*τὸν μὲν *γὰρ ἄλλους τινὰς ἀν-
θρώπους ἐγκωμιάζοντα,

Col. 5.

οἱ πολλαχόθεν εἰς μίαν
πόλιν συνεληλυθότες
οἰκοῦσι γένος ἴδιον ἕκασ-
τος συνεισενεγκάμενος,
5 τούτων μὲν δεῖ κατ' [ᾗ]νδρα
γενεαλογεῖν ἕκαστον·
περὶ δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἀνδρῶν
τοὺς λόγους ποιούμενον, οἷς
ἡ κοινὴ γένεσις α[ὐτόχ]θοσιν
10 οὖσιν ἀνυπέρβλη[τον] τὴν
εὐγένειαν ἔχει, πε[ρ]ίεργον
ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι ἰδίᾳ [τὰ] γένη
ἐγκωμιάζειν. ἀλλὰ [πε]ρὶ τῆς
παιδείας αὐτῶν ἐπι[μνη]σθῶ,
15 καὶ ὡς ἐν πολλῇ σ[ωφρο]-

Col. 4, l. 32, το μὲν ἄλλους MS. See Col. 11, l. 4, and 12.

Col. 5, l. 2, σ.συν. MS. l. 8, του λογου MS.

Col. 4, l. 32. τὸν μὲν γὰρ κ. τ. λ.] It would indeed be possible to make the sentence construe by a much slighter alteration of the MS., i. e. by changing δεῖ into δὴ below (Col. 5, l. 5) and reading, ἀλλ' εὔηθες εἶναι ὑπολαμβάνω τὸ μὲν ἄλλους κ. τ. λ. τούτων μὲν δὴ κατ' ἄνδρα κ. τ. λ. *I think it a foolish stretch of good nature in any one's case, &c., but in that of Athenians utterly superfluous.* But the corrections in the text by Dr A. Schäfer are much more satisfactory. Sauppe and Cobet read τοῦτον in line 5, perhaps rightly, but the MS. reading brings out a fair sense. A little below Cobet changes ποιούμενον into ποιούμενος, wrongly, as it seems; for Hyperides is not contrasting himself directly with others, but Athenian orators generally with other orators.

Col. 5, l. 9. αὐτόχθοσιν] A favourite subject of discourse on such occasions. See Thucyd. ii. 36. Lys. *Epitaph.* § 17. Plat. *Menex.* p. 237 B. Pseudo-Demosth. *Epitaph.* p. 1390; also Isocr. *Paneg.* p. 45. Hermogenes and the other *homines umbratiles* impress on us the duty of introducing it: ἐρεῖς περὶ γένους ὅτι αὐτόχθονες. *Progymn. (Rhet. Gr.* Vol. ii. p. 14, Speng.): see also Dionys. Hal. *Ars Rhet.* c. 6. § 2. So also was the παιδεία (see Plat. *Menex.* p. 237 A. Pseudo-Demosth. *Epitaph.* pp. 1389, 1393, and Dionys. u. s. § 3), as well as of course the ἀρετή: for which last see especially Dionys. u. s. § 3.

- σύνη παῖδες ὄντ[ες ἐτρά]-
 φησαν καὶ *ἐπαιδ[εύθησαν],
 ὅπερ εἰώθασιν [οἱ ἄλλοι ποι]-
 εῖν; ἀλλ' οἶμαι π[άντας]
 20 εἰδέναι ὅτι τούτο[ν ἕνεκα]
 τοὺς παῖδας παιδεύ(ο)[μεν],
 ἵν' ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γ[ένων]-
 ται· τοὺς δὲ γεγενημ[ένους]
 ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἄνδρ[ας]
 25 ὑπερβάλλοντας τῇ ἀ[ρετῇ]
 πρόδηλόν ἐστιν, ὅτι πα[ίδες]
 ὄντες καλῶς ἐπαιδεύ[θη]-
 σαν. ἀπλούστατον (ο)[ἔν ἡ]-
 γούμαι εἶναι τὴν ἐν τ[ῷ]
 30 πολέμῳ διεξελθεῖν ἀ-
 ρετὴν, καὶ ὡς πολλῶν ἀ-
 γαθῶν αἵτιοι γεγένηται
 τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλ-
 λησιν. ¶ Ἀρξομαι δὲ πρῶτον ἀ-
 35 πὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ· καὶ γὰρ δίκαι-
 ον· Λεωσθένης γὰρ ὁρῶν
 τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶ[σα]ν τεταπει-
 νωμένην καὶ [κατ]επτη-

Col. 5, l. 17, ἐπεδ...MS. "Bab. optime ἐπαιδεύθησαν explevit." Cobet. l. 21, τοι MS. l. 22, ἵνα MS. l. 23, γεγεννη ..MS. l. 32, γεγεννηται MS. l. 33, πατριτι MS. l. 38, καὶ τὴν εὐημερίαν κατεφθαρμένην Ed. pr. The restoration in the text is by Sauppe and Classen, except that I now read καὶ ἐφθαρμένην, which may be the MS. reading, and is certainly required. Cobet reads καὶ τὴν δόξαν τὴν παλαιὰν κατεφθαρμένην, which is palpably wrong.

Col. 5, l. 17. ἐπαιδεύθησαν] This is probably the true reading, ε being written for αι by a common barbarism: it is possible, however, that ἐπεδάχθησαν or ἐπεδίδωσαν, which Mr Lightfoot prefers, may have been in the papyrus. In the following line I have adopted his restoration instead of my εἰώθασιν νέους παιδεύειν.

l. 19. πάντας] Cobet adds ὑμᾶς perhaps rightly.

l. 31. πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἵτιοι] Isocrates calls the Athenians πλείστων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. *Paneg.* p. 45.

l. 32. αἵτιοι γεγένηται] Sauppe reads αἵτιος γεγένηται, taking αἵτιος as feminine and agreeing with ἀρετή. But the sense is less forcible.

l. 34. ἀρξομαι κ.τ.λ.] ἀρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων πρῶτον· δίκαιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς. Thucyd. ii. 36.

Col. 6.

- [χυ]ῖαν κα(ι) ἐφθαρμένην ὑπὸ
 [τῶν] δωροδοκούντων παρὰ Φι-
 [λίπ]που καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου κατὰ
 [τῶν] πατρίδων τῶν αὐτῶν,
 5 καὶ τ]ὴν μὲν πόλιν ἡμῶν
 [δεομέ]νην ἀνδρὸς τὴν δ' (Ἑ)λλά-
 [δα πᾶ]σαν πόλεως ἥτις προστῆν-
 [αι δυ](ν)ήσεται τῆς ἡγεμονίας,
 [ἐπέδ]ωκεν *ἐαυτὸν *μὲν τῇ
 10 [πατρί]δι τὴν δὲ πόλιν τοῖς Ἑλλη-
 σ[ιν] εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. καὶ ξε-
 νικὴν μὲν δύναμιν *συστησά-
 μενος τῆς δὲ πολιτικῆς ἡγε-
 μῶν καταστάς τοὺς πρώτους
 15 ἀντιταξαμένους τῇ τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίᾳ Βοι-
 ωτοὺς καὶ Μακεδόνας καὶ
 Εὐβοέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συμ-
 μάχους αὐτῶν ἐνίκησε *μα-
 20 χόμενος ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ,
 ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐλθὼν εἰς Πύ-

Col. 6. l. 2, δωροδοκούντων MS. l. 6, ολλα MS. apparently. l. 9, μὲν ἐαυτὸν MS., apparently. See Col. 7. l. 34. l. 12, στησαμένος MS. which Cæsar defends. Kayser proposes κτησάμενος. Cobet agrees with my correction. l. 14, πρωτοῦς MS. l. 20, μαχομένους MS. The correction is Cobet's.

Col. 6, l. 11. ξενικὴν κ.τ.λ.] τοῦ παντὸς ἄρχειν ἤρητο Λεωσθένης Ἀθηναῖος. Pausan. i. 25. For the historical details see Diod. xvii. 111.

l. 16. Βοιωτοῦς] See Diod. xviii. 11.

l. 18. Εὐβοέας] Diodorus (u. s.) says that the Carystians of Eubœa sided with Athens, perhaps thereby implying that the others did not: Niebuhr (*Lect. on Anc. Hist.* Vol. iii. p. 33, on what authority?) asserts that "the Bœotians, as well as the Chalcidians, Eretrians and Megarians had concentrated their forces, to cut off the Athenians from Thermopylæ." Cobet edits Εὐβοᾶς, as was to be expected.

l. 20. ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ] At Platæa. Diodorus u. s.—Pausanias (i. 1), (alluding to this passage?) says Λεωσθένης Ἀθηναῖος καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσιν ἡγούμενος Μακεδόνας ἐν τε Βοιωτοῖς ἐκράτησε μάχῃ καὶ αὐθις ἔξω Θερμοπυλῶν καὶ βιασάμενος ἐς Λαμίαν κατέκλεισε.

λας καὶ καταλαβὼν τὰς
 [εἰ]σόδους, δι' ὧν καὶ πρότερον ἐ-
 [πὶ τ]οὺς Ἕλληνας οἱ βάρβαροι ἐ-
 25 [πο]ρεύθησαν, τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ
 [τὴν] Ἑλλάδα πορείας Ἀντί-
 [π]ατρον ἐκώλυσεν, αὐτὸν δὲ
 [κα]ταλαβὼν ἐν τοῖς τόποις τού-
 [τοι]ς καὶ μάχῃ νικήσας ἐπολι-
 30 [όρ]κει κατακλείσας εἰς Λαμίαν·
 [Θε]τταλοὺς δὲ καὶ Φωκέας καὶ
 [Αἰ]τωλοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαν-
 τας τοὺς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ συμμαχοῦς
 ἐποίησατο, καὶ ὧν Φίλιππος
 35 καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀκόντων ἡγού-
 μενοι ἐσεμνύνοντο, τούτων Λε-
 ωσθένης ἐκόντων τὴν ἡγε-
 μονίαν ἔλαβεν. συνέβη δ' αὐτῷ
 τῶν μὲν πραγμάτων ὧν προεί-
 40 λετο κρατῆσαι,

Col. 7.

τῆς δ' εἰ[μαρ]μένης οὐκ ἦν
 περιγενέ[σθαι.] ¶ Δίκαιον δ' ἐσ-
 τὴν μὴ μ[όνον] ὧν ἔπραξεν

Col. 6, l. 22, καταλαβων MS.

Col. 7, l. 1, ουγην MS.

Col. 6, l. 30. Λαμίαν] See Diod. xviii. 12. Plut. *Phoc.* p. 752 B. id. *Demosth.* p. 858 c.

l. 31. Θετταλοὺς] See Diod. xviii. 11, 12.

Ibid. Φωκέας] See Diod. xviii. 9, 11.

l. 32. Αἰτωλοὺς] See Diod. xvii. 111. xviii. 9, 11. This is the first time that the Ætolians figure conspicuously in history. They afterwards deserted the cause. Diod. xviii. 13.

Col. 7, l. 1. εἰμαρμένης] His death (resulting from a blow on the head with a stone from a catapult) is mentioned or alluded to by Diod. xviii. 13. Just. xiii. 5. Strab. ix. 10. Pausan. i. 25. iii. 6. Plut. *Phoc.* p. 752 B. Schol. Æschin. p. 753. Reisk.

Λεωσθένης[ης τότε] χάριν ἔχειν
 5 αὐτῷ πο[λλήν, ἀ]λλὰ καὶ τῆς
 ὕστερον [γενομέ]νης μάχης
 μετὰ τ[ὸν τοῦτο]υ θάνατον
 καὶ τῶν [ἄλλων ἀγ]αθῶν τῶν
 ἐν τῇ στ[ρατεία τ]αύτῃ συμ-
 10 βάντων [τοῖς Ἑλ]λησιν· ἐπὶ
 γὰρ τοῖς ὑπὸ [Λε]ωσθένους
 *τεθεῖσιν θεμελίοις οἰκοδο-
 μούσιν οἱ νῦν τὰς ὕστερον
 πρᾶξεις. καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολά-
 15 βη με τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν
 [μη]δένα λόγον ποιεῖσθαι
 [ἐν τῷ] Λεωσθένη μὲν ἐγκω-
 [μιάζ]ειν· συμβαίνει γὰρ
 [τὸν Λε]ωσθένους ἐπαινον
 20 [ἐπὶ ταῖς] μάχαις ἐγκώμιον
 [καὶ τῶν ἄλ]λων πολιτῶν εἶναι·
 τ(ο)[ῦ μὲν] γὰρ βουλευέσθαι
 κα[λῶς ὁ στρα]τηγὸς αἴτιος, τοῦ
 δὲ ν[ικᾶν μαχ]ομένους οἱ κιν-
 25 δυν[εύειν ἐθ]έλοντες τοῖς σώ-
 μασι[ν, ὥστ]ε, ὅταν

Col. 7, l. 12, *θειςιν* MS.

Col. 7, l. 4. *τότε*] Sauppe reads *τῇν* and compares Lysias *Or.* 31. § 24. *τὰς χάριτας ἀποδιδόναι*. But the sense is weaker. My *αὐτὸς* is too much for the space; the restoration is by Mr Shilleto.

Ibid. *χάριν ἔχειν*] *χάριν ἔχειν ὡς Ὑπεριδῆς*. Pollux, v. § 142, possibly quoting this place. The phrase, however, is common in the Orators.

l. 13. *οἱ νῦν*] Antiphilus, the successor of Leosthenes, cut to pieces Leonnatus and his cavalry, who had come up towards Lamia to the aid of Antipater. "This was one of the most glorious victories the Greeks ever gained." (Niebuhr, *Lect. Anc. Hist.* Vol. III. p. 36.) See Diod. XVIII. 13, 15. Just. XIII. 5. Strab. IX. 10. Plut. *Phoc.* 752, 753.

l. 17. *ἐν τῷ*] *διὰ τὸ* Cobet, which is less natural.

Ibid. *μὲν*] Sauppe says, 'geht μὲν nicht,' and would read *ἀλλὰ Λεωσθένη μόνον*, and so also Cobet. The text as edited seems defensible, if we suppose a clause to have been suppressed.

ἐπαιν[ῶ τὴν γ]εγονυῖαν νίκην,
 ἅμα [τῇ Λε]ωσθένους ἡγεμονί-
 α καὶ [τὴν τῶ]ν ἄλλων ἀρετὴν
 30 ἐγκωμ[ιάζ](ω). τίς γὰρ οὐκ
 ἂν δικ[αίως] ἐπαινοίη τῶν
 πολιτῶ[ν το]ὺς ἐν τῷδε τῷ
 πολέμῳ [τε]λευτήσαντας, οἱ
 τὰς ἐα[υτῶ]ν ψυχὰς ἔδωκαν
 35 ὑπὲρ τῇ[ς τῶ]ν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευ-
 θερίας, [φα]νερωτάτην ἀπό-
 δειξιν τ[αύτη]ν ἡγούμενοι εἶ-
 ναι τοῦ β[ούλ]εσθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι
 [τὴν] ἐλευθερίαν

Col. 8.

περιθεῖναι, τὸ μαχόμε[νοι]
 τελευτῆσαι ὑπὲρ αὐτ(ῇ)[ς; ¶ Μέ]-
 γα δ' αὐτοῖς συνεβάλετ[ο εἰς]
 τὸ προθύμως ὑπὲρ τῆς [πατρί]-
 5 δος ἀγωνίσασθαι, τὸ ἐν τῇ [Βοιω]-
 τία τὴν μάχην τὴν π[ρώτην]-
 γενέσθαι. ἑώρων γὰρ τὴν μὲν πό]-
 λιν τῶν Θηβαίων οἰκ[τρῶς ἤφαν]ισ-
 μένην ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, [τὴν δὲ] ἀκρό-

Col. 7, l. 30, ἐγκωμιάζειν Ed. pr. wrongly; there is an evident trace of ω, and the infinitive is too much for the space. l. 34, ενα...MS. See Col. 6. l. 9.

Col. 8, l. 8...εισμενην MS. apparently.

Col. 8, l. 8. Θηβαίων] For the history of the utter destruction of Thebes by Alexander, B. C. 335, see Diod. xvii. 8—14. Arrian. *Exp. Alex.* c. 9. It was a common subject of declamation with the Orators. See Hyperid. c. *Dem.* p. 35 (ed. Bah. and the notes).

Ibid. ἡφανισμένην ἐξ ἀνθρώπων] ἐπειδὴ Ἡρακλῆς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἡφανίσθη, Lys. *Επιταφ.* § 11: we have also in Isocrates (*Panegy.* p. 60 c,) ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι, said of cities.

l. 9. ἀκρόπολιν] "It seems probable that there were Macedonian garrisons in the Kadmeia, &c." Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, Vol. xii. c. 95, p. 423. The fact, acutely surmised, is put out of doubt by the text.

- 10 πολιν ἐξαυτῆς φρουρου[μένην] ὑ-
 πὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων, τὰ *δὲ σώμα-
 τα τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἐξηνδρα-
 ποδισμένα, τὴν δὲ χώραν ἄλ-
 λους διανεμομένους, ὥστε πρὸ ὁ-
 15 φθαλμῶν ὁρώμενα αὐτοῖς τὰ δει-
 νὰ ἄοκνον π[αρ]εῖχε τόλμαν εἰς τὸ
 κινδυνεύειν [πρ]οχείρως. Ἡ Ἀλλὰ
 μὴν τὴν γε π[ερὶ Πύ]λας καὶ Λαμί-
 αν μάχην γεν[ομένην] οὐχ ἥττον
 20 αὐτοῖς ἐνδο[ξον γεν]έσθαι *συμ-
 βέβηκεν, ἥ[ς ἐν Βοιω]τοῖς ἡγωνίσαν-
 το, οὐ μόνον [τῷ μαχο]μένους νικᾶν
 Ἀντίπατρον [καὶ τοὺς σ]υμμάχους,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τόπῳ [τῷ ἐ]νταυθοῖ γε-
 25 γενῆσθαι τὴν μ[άχην]. (ἀφι)κνού-
 μενοι γὰρ οἱ Ἑλλη[νες ἀπ]αντες
 δὲ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰς [τὴν Πυλ]αίαν

Col. 8, l. 11, τε MS. The correction is Cobet's. l. 16, τόλμα MS.
 l. 20, συνεβηκεισ... τοις or γοις ηγ MS. apparently.

Col. 8, l. 10. ἐξαυτῆς] The word scarcely occurs elsewhere in Attic. Sauppe and Cobet conceive that ἐξ has been erroneously repeated from the line above, and that αὐτῆς is the true reading. I do not quite see the necessity of this supposition; and moreover the αὐτῆς is frigid and awkward. Possibly ἐξετες may be the true reading.

l. 12. ἐξηνδραποδισμένα] See Diod. xvii. 14.

l. 13. ἄλλους] the adjoining Boeotians. See Diod. xviii. 11.

Pausan. i. 25.

l. 16. ἄοκνον κ.τ.λ.] ἄοκνον πᾶσι τὴν τόλμαν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν κινδύνων καθίστησι. Himer. *Epitaph.* p. 44, Dübn. possibly imitating this passage.

l. 24. ἐνταυθοῖ] See Shilleto on Demosth. *Fals. Leg.* § 356.

l. 27. εἰς τὴν Πυλαίαν] This passage is referred to by Harpocration s. v. Πύλαι. Πυλαία δ' ἐκαλεῖτο ἢ εἰς τὰς Πύλας σύνοδος τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων Δημοσθένους ὑπὲρ Κτησιφάντος. ὅτι δὲ τις ἐρίγμετο σύνοδος τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων εἰς Πύλας Ὑπερίδης τε ἐν ἐπιταφίῳ καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ λ' εἰρήκασι. The Amphictyonic Council was sometimes but improperly termed τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνέδριον. On this whole subject see C. F. Hermann, *Polit. Antiq. Gr.* pp. 26—30, (Engl. ed.) "Hæc verba aperte indicant in Harpocrationis editionibus falso scribi ὅτι δὲ τις κ.τ.λ.; restitutum est ὅτι δὲ δῖς. Cf. Strab. ix. p. 420, Cas. Schol. Æsch. 3, § 124, p. 71, St. De tempore quo Amphictyones ad Pylas convenisse viderentur, in vita Demosthenis, Vol. II. p. 508, quam potui accuratissime exposui: jam video me in eo erravisse quod cum reliquis qui de hac re scripserunt

- θεωροὶ γενήσονται [καὶ]
 τῶν ἔργων τῶν π[επρα]γμένων
 30 αὐτοῖς· ἅμα γὰρ εἰς τ[ὸν τό]πον ἀ-
 θροισθήσονται καὶ τῇ[ς τοῦ] των ἀ-
 ρετῆς μνησθήσονται. [*ο]ὕ-
 δένες γὰρ πῶποτε τῶν γεγονότων
 οὔτε περὶ καλλιόνων οὔτε πρὸς ἰσ-
 35 χυροτέρους οὔτε μετ' ἐλαττόνων
 ἠγωνίσαντο, τὴν ἀρετὴν ἰσχὺν
 καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν πλῆθος ἀλλ' οὐ
 τὸν πολὺν ἀριθμὸν τῶν σωματίων
 εἶναι κρίνοντες. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐ-
 40 λευθερίαν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν πᾶσιν
 κατέθεσαν, τὴν δ' εὐδοξίαν ἀπὸ
 τῶν πράξεων αἰδίου στέφανον
 τῇ πατρί[δι περ]ιέθηκαν. ¶ Ἀξίων

Col. 9.

τοῖνυ συλλογίσασθαι καὶ τί ἂν
 συμβῆναι νομίζοιμεν, μὴ κα-

Col. 8, l. 28, after γενήσονται the MS. probably had [καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τοῦ] των, the words being afterwards cancelled by dots placed over them. l. 32, ὑδένος MS. l. 34, καλλειόνων MS. l. 39, κρινόντες MS.

Col. 9, l. 2, νομίζοιμεν Cobet, who says: "Nemo dubitabit quin in recta oratione verum sit, τί ἂν συμβῆναι νομίζοιμεν μὴ κ. τ. λ. sed ex Græcitatibus ingenio et more ea forma non mutatur quum eadem verba suspendantur ex præcedd. ἄξιον τοῖνυ συλλογίσασθαι."

doctis hominibus semel tantum in anno Amphictyones ad Pylas sacra fecisse statui." A. Schäf. in litt.

Col. 8, l. 28. καὶ] I have added this word at Professor Sauppe's suggestion. The scribe's eye seems to have wandered into l. 31.

l. 35. οὔτε] Cobet cancels οὔτε observing: "Joculare imprimis est οὔτε μετ' ἐλαττόνων ἠγωνίσαντο, quasi vero nunquam copias fuerint pauciores, quam quibus Leosthenes præfuerit. Sed in re manifesta parco verbis." All this is utterly beside the mark. Hyperides means fewer in comparison with the enemy. No one ever contended against greater odds.

Col. 9, l. 2. νομίζοιμεν] Cobet (with whom Kayser agrees) changes this into νομίζοιμεν, adding, however, that 'sexcenti Atticorum loci eadem de causa labem conceperunt.' The construction seems to be defensible: νομίζοιμι ἂν is almost equivalent to νομίζω: and the aorist inf. without ἂν is not uncommonly joined to this class of verbs; thus Lys. c. Ergocl. § 4. p. 818, has οἶμαι δ' ἔγωγε πάντας ὑμᾶς ὁμολογῆσαι, εἰ ὑμῖν Θρασύβουλος ἐπηγγέλλετο τήρηρεῖ ἔχων ἐκπλεύσεσθαι καὶ ταύτας παλαιὰς ἀντί

- τὰ τρόπον τούτων ἀγωνισα-
 μένων. ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐνὸς μὲν δε-
 5 σπότου τὴν οἰκουμένην ὑπήκο-
 ον ἅπασαν εἶναι, νόμῳ δὲ τῷ
 τούτου τρόπῳ ἐξ ἀνάγκης χρῆσ-
 θαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα; συνελόντι
 δ' εἰπεῖν, τὴν Μακεδόνων ὑ-
 10 περηφανίαν καὶ μὴ τὴν τοῦ
 δικαίου δύναμιν ἰσχύειν
 παρ' ἐκάστοις, ὥστε μήτε
 γυναικῶν μήτε παρθένων
 μηδὲ παίδων ὕβρεις ἀνεκ-
 15 λείπτους ἐκάστοις καθεστάν-
 ναι; φανερόν δ' ἐξ ὧν ἀναγ-
 καζόμεθα καὶ νῦν ἔ[χειν]. θυσί-

Col. 9, l. 3, ἀγωνισαμένων MS. l. 7, τούτῳ MS. l. 8, συνελόντι MS. l. 11, δυναμειν MS. l. 12, μετε MS. l. 13, γυναικων MS. id. υβρις MS. l. 16, των MS. id. ανακαζομεσθα MS.

καιῶν παραδώσειν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν κινδύνους ὑμετέρους ἔσεσθαι, τὰς δ' ὠφελείας τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων, καὶ ὑμᾶς μὲν διὰ τὰς εἰσφοράς πενεστέρους ἀποδείξειν, Ἐργοκλέα δὲ καὶ τοὺς κόλακας τοὺς αὐτοῦ πλουσιωτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν ποιήσειν, οὐδένα ἂν ὑμῶν ἐπιτρέψαι τὰς ναῦς ἐκείνον ἔχοντα ἐκπλεῦσαι. See Jelf's Gr. Gr. § 405. At the same time it must be confessed that the emendation is very specious.

Col. 9, l. 4. ἐνὸς δεσπότου κ.τ.λ.] Non enim simile est vivere in æqua civitate, ubi jus legibus valeat, et devenire sub unius tyranni imperium, ubi singularis libido dominetur. Hyperid. *ap. Rutil. Lup.* II. 2.

l. 14. παίδων ὕβρεις] Compare the precisely similar passage in the oration *de Fœd. c. Alex.* p. 212, τοὺς τυραννομένους ἀκρίτους ἔστιν ὄραν ἀπολλυμένους ἅμα καὶ ὕβριζομένους εἰς παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας. See also Isocr. p. 64 c.

l. 14. ἀνεκλείπτους] An adjective of precisely the opposite sense might have been expected; but the text seems to have arisen from a confused repetition of negatives. The word itself, moreover, perhaps does not occur elsewhere in Attic: and just below we have the less Attic form *ναούς*. Cobet's conjecture that a line has been omitted by the scribe is ingenious: παρθένων μηδὲ [μίαν φειδῶ γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων καὶ] παίδων κ.τ.λ. Kayser similarly supposes that ἀνιέναι ποτε, ἀλλὰ, should be inserted after ὕβρεις. Sauppe's ἀν ἐκλείπτους cannot, I think, stand.

l. 17. ἔχειν] "Quamquam non facile aliud quid expleveris, tamen ἔχειν non est satis sententiæ accommodatum. Aptius esset φέρειν aut simile quid." Cobet. Kayser supplies ἔτι.

- ας μὲν ἀνθρώποις γί[νο]μέ-
 νας ἐφορᾶν, ἀγάλ[ματα δὲ] καὶ
 20 βωμούς καὶ ναοὺς τοῖ[ς μὲν] θεοῖς
 ἀμελῶς τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώπο[ις] ἐπι-
 μελῶς συντελούμενα, καὶ [*τ]ού-
 των *οἰκέτας ὥσπερ ἥρωας τι-
 μᾶν ἡμᾶς ἀναγκαζομένους.
 25 ὅπου δὲ τὰ πρὸς *τοὺς θεοὺς ὅσια διὰ
 τὴν Μακεδόνων τόλμαν ἀν-
 ῥηται, τί τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
 χρὴ νομίζειν; ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν παν-
 τελῶς καταλελύσθαι; ὥστε,
 30 ὅσῳ δεινότερα τὰ προσδοκώ-
 μεν ἂν γενέσθαι κρίνομεν,
 τοσούτῳ μειζόνων ἐπαίνων
 τοὺς τετελευτηκότας ἀξίους
 χρὴ νομίζειν. ¶ Οὐδεμία γὰρ
 35 στρατεία τὴν *τῶν στρατευομένων ἀρε-
 τὴν ἐνεφάνισεν μᾶλλον τῆς νῦν
 γεγενημένης, ἐν ᾗ *γε παρατάτ-

Col. 9, l. 18. γε[γιν]ο[με]νας MS. as Sauppe and Cobet rightly observe, γε[γεν]η[μέ]νας Ed. pr. badly. l. 22, οὐς τῶν οικητας MS. l. 25. There is a mark above πρὸς in the MS., which Cobet interprets to be 'signum omissionis,' and cleverly inserts τοὺς, which I have adopted. l. 30, προσδοκωμεν MS. l. 31, κρίνομεν. Kayser and Cobet read κρίνομεν. See note on line 2. l. 34, οδεμια MS. l. 35, τὴν στ. MS. l. 37, τε MS.

Col. 9, l. 18. ἀνθρώποις] i. e. to Alexander. See Appendix B.

l. 22. τούτων οἰκέτας] in allusion to Hephæstion, apparently. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀπέθανεν Ἡφαιστίων, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐβουλήθη προσθεῖναι καὶ τοῦτο τῇ λοιπῇ μεγαλουργίᾳ, καὶ θεὸν χειροτονησάι τὸν τετελευτηκότα. εὐθὺς οὖν νεῶς τε ἀνέστησαν αἱ πόλεις καὶ τεμένη καθιδρύνετο καὶ βωμοὶ καὶ θυσίαι καὶ ἑορταὶ τῷ καινῷ τούτῳ θεῷ ἐπετελοῦντο... εἰ δέ τις... μὴ φαίνοιτο πᾶν εὐσεβῶν, θάνατος ἐπέκειτο ἡ ζῆμια. Lucian. *Calum. non iem. cred.* 17. (Vol. III. p. 148. Ed. Reiz.) ἤκεν εἰς τῶν φίλων Φίλιππος, χρησμὸν φέρων παρ' Ἀμμωνος θύειν Ἡφαιστίωνι θεῷ. Diod. xvi. 115.—Arrian, however, seems to be more correct when he says ἐναγίζειν... ὡς ἥρωι ἐκέλευεν (Ἀλέξανδρος) and that the oracle of Ammon would not allow ὡς θεῷ θύειν Ἡφαιστίωνι. *Exp. Alex.* vii. 14. So also Plutarch, ἐξ Ἀμμωνος ἦλθεν μαντεία τιμᾶν Ἡφαιστίωνα καὶ θύειν ὡς ἥρωι παρακελευονσα. *Vit. Alex.* p. 704 f. Cobet, Kayser and Sauppe read τοὺς τούτων οἰκέτας; but οἰκέτας corresponds to ἀνθρώποις in line 18.

l. 35. τὴν *τῶν στρατευομένων] Cobet agrees with this reading.

40 τεσθαι μὲν ὀσημέραι ἀναγκαῖ-
 ον ἦν, πλείους δὲ μάχας ἡγωνίσ-
 θαι διὰ μιᾶς στρατ[είας] ἢ τοὺς

Col. 10.

ἄλλους πάντας πληγὰς λαμ-
 βάνειν ἐν τῷ παρεληλυ-
 θότι χρόνῳ, χειμώνων δ' ὑ-
 [π]ερβολὰς καὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμέ-
 5 [ρ]αν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδείας τοσ-
 [αύ]τας καὶ τηλικαύτας οὕτως
 [ἐγ]κρατῶς *ὑπομεμενηκέναι,
 [ὥσ]τε καὶ τῷ λόγῳ χαλεπὸν
 [εἶν]αι φράσαι. τὸν δὲ τοιαύτας
 10 *[κ]αρτερίας ἀόκνως ὑπομεῖναι
 τοὺς πολίτας προτρεψάμενον
 Λεωσθένη καὶ τοὺς τῷ τοιούτῳ
 στρατηγῷ προθύμως συναγωνισ-
 τὰς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς παρασχόντας

Col. 9, l. 39, η MS.

Col. 10, l. 1, πληγὰς λαμβάνειν. "Ista nata esse suspicor...ex dittographia et scioli interpolatione. Nihil ferme differunt in libris vetustis ΠΑΝΤΑΣ et ΠΛΗΓΑΣ...itaque post sic πληγὰς irrepsit, supervenit nescio quis qui fulcrum λαμβάνειν de suo addidit." Cobet. l. 2, παρεπαρληλυθοσι MS. l. 7, υπερμεμενηκεναι MS. l. 10, [κρ]ατερίας MS. l. 11, τον πολειτας MS.

Col. 9, l. 38. ὀσημέραι] *day by day*: (contr. from ὅσαι ἡμέραι, *quotidie eunt dies* Hor.) ἐνταυθὶ θύεται τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ὀσημέραι. Hyperid. *Delias*. (*Fragm. Oratt. Att.* p. 287, Saupp.)

Col. 10, l. 1.] "Arena sine calce. Exime πληγὰς λαμβάνειν, et sana erunt omnia." Cobet; who devises a marvellous hypothesis as to the origin of the reading, and ends with an edifying philippic against the errors of old MSS.: "I nunc et venerare vetustos libros ante xvi sæcula scriptos!" To myself at least the text of the MS. seems perfectly sound. Hyperides in his rhetorical flourishing fashion declares that Leosthenes and his men had passed through more battles in one campaign, than other people had received blows in all their life-time. It may be hyperbolic enough to affirm that the number of the former exceeds that of the latter, but that is no reason for suspecting the correctness of the text; although it must be owned that εἰληφέναι would have been more natural.

l. 10. καρτερίας] Cf. Plat. *Rep.* iii. p. 390 D, ἀλλ' εἴ ποὺ τινες καρτερίαι (i. e. instances of endurance) πρὸς ἅπαντα καὶ λέγονται καὶ πράττονται ὑπὸ ἐλλογίμων ἀνδρῶν θεατέον τε καὶ ἀκουστέον.

- 15 ἄρ' οὐ διὰ τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀπόδειξιν
εὐτυχεῖς μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τὴν τοῦ ζῆν
ἀπόλειψιν ἀτυχεῖς νομιστέον,
οἵτινες θνητοῦ σώματος ἀθά[να]-
τον δόξαν ἐκτήσαντο καὶ διὰ τῇ[ν]
20 ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν τὴν κοινὴν ἐλ[ευ]-
θερίαν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐβεβαίωσαν;
φέρει γὰρ πᾶσαν εὐδαιμονίαν
ἄνευ τῆς *αὐτονομίας. οὐ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς
ἀπειλὴν ἀλλὰ νόμου φωνὴν κυριεύ-
25 εἰν δεῖ τῶν εὐδαιμόνων, οὐδ' αἰ-
τίαν φοβερὰν εἶναι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις
ἀλλ' ἐλεγχον, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς κολακεύ-
ουσιν τοὺς δυνάστας καὶ διαβάλλου-

Col. 10, l. 15, ουου MS. l. 23, αυτονομειας MS. id. ο γαρ MS.

Col. 10, l. 18. θνητοῦ σώματος ἀθάνατον δόξαν] αἰσχροὺν ἡγοῦντο... αὐτοὶ φανῆναι θνητῶν σῶμα ποιούμενοι περὶ πλείονος ἢ δόξαν ἀθάνατον. Pseudo-Demosth. *Epitaph.* p. 1397. ἐπειδὴ θνητῶν σωμάτων ἔτυχον ἀθάνατον μνήμην διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν κατέλιπον. Lys. *Epitaph.* (in fine).—See also Isocr. *Paneg.* p. 57 E. Dr Cæsar suggests with some probability that ἀντὶ should be inserted, and compares Isocr. *Archid.* § 109. p. 138 ἀντὶ θνητοῦ σώματος ἀθάνατον δόξαν ἀντικαταλλάξασθαι.

l. 20. ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν...κοινὴν ἐλευθερίαν] τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἀρετῇ κοινὴν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκτήσαντο. Lys. *Epitaph.* § 44. See also Pseudo-Demosth. *Epitaph.* p. 1391.

l. 23. ἄνευ τῆς *αὐτονομίας] On the whole I am inclined to abandon my ἄνευ τῆς αὐτοῦ ὁ μείνας, (which can only be defended as a possible allusion to some poet) in favor of αὐτονομίας which Professors Sauppe and Selwyn propose. It seems better to take ἀρετὴ as the nominative to φέρει than ἐλευθερία. Kayser conjectures ἄνευ τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτονομία. Cobet acquiesces (p. 25) in my original reading. Comparetti probably rightly thinks a line has been omitted.

Ibid. οὐ γὰρ κ.τ.λ.] Quoted by Stobæus. τοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. Ὑπερίδου). Φοβητέον οὐκ ἀνδρὸς ἀπειλὴν ἀλλὰ νόμου φωνὴν κυριεύειν δεῖ τῶν ἐλευθέρων. *Floril.* tit. 74, 35. (The last four words are not found in all the MSS.) The argument is as follows: Despotism cannot consist with happiness: Leosthenes by opposing despotism brings happiness to all the Greeks, and is therefore to be congratulated for having fallen in the struggle for Hellenic freedom. The last clauses probably refer to Demades. See Appendix B.

l. 25. αἰτίαν...ἐλεγχον] αἰτία μὲν ἐστίν, ὅταν τις ψιλῶ χρησάμενος λόγῳ μὴ παράσχηται πίστιν ὧν λέγει, ἐλεγχος δὲ, ὅταν ὧν ἂν εἴπῃ τις καὶ τάληθές ὁμοῦ δεῖξῃ. Demosth. c. *Androt.* p. 600.

- σιν τοὺς πολίτας τὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀσ-
 30 φαλὲς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν νόμων πίστει
 γενέσθαι. ¶ Ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπάντων οὗτοι πό-
 νους πόνων διαδόχους ποιούμενοι,
 καὶ τοῖς καθ' ἡμέραν κινδύνοις τοὺς εἰς
 τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον φόβους τῶν πολιτῶν
 35 καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων παραιρούμενοι τὸ
 ζῆν ἀνῆλυσαν εἰς τὸ τοὺς ἄλλους
 καλῶς ζῆν. διὰ τούτους πατέρες
 ἔνδοξοι, μητέρες περίβλεπτοι τοῖς
 πολίταις γεγόνασι, ἀδελφαὶ γάμων
 40 τῶν προσηκόντων ἐννόμως τετυ-
 χήκασι καὶ τεύζονται, παῖδες ἐ(φό)-
 διον εἰς τὴν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ε[ύνοι]-
 αν τὴν τῶν οὐκ ἀπολωλότῳ[ν]

Col. 11.

ἀρετὴν,—οὐ γὰρ θεμιτὸν

Col. 10, l. 29, του πολειτας MS. l. 33, του εις MS. l. 37, του
 τουτους MS. l. 38, περιβλεπτοι MS. l. 39, γεγόνασιν, Cobet, perhaps
 rightly. l. 43, απωλωλοτων.

Col. 10, l. 35. τὸ ζῆν κ.τ.λ.] Cf. Plat. *Menez.* p. 237 A.

l. 37. διὰ τούτους] Cobet reads διὰ τοι τούτους.

l. 38. μητέρες περίβλεπτοι] γονεῖς οἱ τούτων περίβλεπτοι γηροτρο-
 φήσονται. Pseudo-Demosth. *Epitaph.* p. 1399.

l. 41. ἐφόδιον] *Children will have the valour of these deathless
 men as a ground for receiving kindness at the hands of the state.* The mean-
 ing is put out of doubt by Thuc. II. 46. αὐτῶν τοὺς παῖδας τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε
 δημοσίᾳ ἢ πόλιν μέχρι ἡβῆς θρέψει, and Pseudo-Demosth. *Epitaph.* 1399.
 παῖδες οἱ τούτων ὀνομαστοὶ τραφήσονται. See also Plat. *Menez.* p. 248 D,
 and Lys. *Epitaph.* §§ 75, 76. For ἐφόδιον cf. Hyperid. *pro Euxenipp.*
 Col. 31 (p. 10, Ed. Bab.) ἐφόδιον ἑαυτῷ εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸ ἐκείνης (Olympias)
 ὄνομα παραφέρων. The same use of πρὸς that we have here occurs
 also in Thucyd. v. 105, τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐμενείας λείπεσθαι. In l. 42
 I have willingly received Cobet's and Caesar's εὐνοίαν, in place of my
 εὐμένειαν, because it suits the space better, but Cobet's remark that I
 was "immemor εὐμένειαν *Deorum* esse erga homines" is a strange oversight.
 The tragic writers often use εὐμενής of men: and of course εὐμένεια
 may be so used also. Moreover he was himself "immemor" loci Pindarici,
Pyth. XII. ἀθανάτων ἀνδρῶν τε σὺν εὐμενίᾳ, i. e. as Dissen explains, 'pro-
 sequente *Deorum* hominumque favore.'

Col. 11, l. 1. It seems better to suppose that the verb governing
 ἀρετὴν is omitted through the vehemence of the digression, than to make

τούτου τοῦ ὀνόματος τυ-
 χεῖν τοὺς οὕτως ὑπὲρ
 καλῶν τὸν βίον ἐκλιπόν-
 5 τας, ἀλλ(α) τῶν τὸ ζῆν
 *εἰς αἰώ[μι]ον τάξιν με-
 τηλλα[χό]των ἔξουσιν.
 εἰ γὰρ [ό τοι]s ἄλλοι(s) ὦν

Col. 11, l. 4, το βιον MS. l. 6, ἴσαιω...ων MS. the last ω being apparently changed into ο.

ἔξουσι the governing verb, as we may do, if a comma be placed after μεταλλαχότων. Caiffaux ingeniously places the comma at τετυχήκασι, and changes ἐφόδιον and τὴν ἀρετὴν into genitives.

Col. 11, l. 5] *But the title of those who will be spoken of as living heroes in another station assigned to them.* Cf. Pseudo-Demosth. (*Epitaph.* p. 1399) πῶς οὐ χρή τούτους εὐδαίμονας νομίζεσθαι...τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ἔχοντας τοῖς προτέροις ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι ἐν μακάρων νήσοις. For μεταλλάττειν τὸ ζῆν cf. Isocr. *Archid.* p. 119 B. Ἡρακλῆς μετέλλαξε τὸν βίον, and *Evag.* p. 192 A, also Plut. *de Consol.* 118 D, 119 E, &c. Frequently the participle is put absolutely, as in Pseudo-Plat. *Asiarch.* p. 369 B. οὔτε περὶ τοὺς ζῶντας ἐστὶν οὔτε περὶ τοὺς μετελλαχότας. Similarly Plutarch, in a remarkable passage like the present, *de Consol.* p. 120 B. εἰ δ' ὁ τῶν παλαιῶν τε ποιητῶν καὶ φιλοσόφων λόγος ἐστὶν ἀληθής, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἔχειν, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς εὐσεβέσι τῶν μεταλλαζάντων ἐστὶ τις τιμὴ... καὶ χάρος τις ἀποτεταγμένος, ἐν ᾧ διατρίβουσιν αἱ τούτων ψυχαί. He observes that the many who believed in the soul's immortality were fond of the word: ἡδέως δὲ τῶν ὀνομάτων τοῦ μεθίστασθαι τὸν θνήσκοντα καὶ μεταλλάττειν...τὸν θάνατον ἀκροῶνται (οἱ πολλοί) καὶ λέγουσιν οὕτως (*Non posse suav. viñ. sec. Epic.* p. 1104 c). Polybius (often) and many late authors so use it. Perhaps for τῶν in the text τὸ τῶν should be read.

l. 5—8. ἀλλὰ κ. τ. λ.] Kayser appears to have found the true reading, which is very agreeable to the appearance of the MS. It is clearly better than αἰωνίῳ, which was one of the readings among others suggested in Ed. pr.; δαιμόνων would suit very well, but it is certainly against the MS. AMEINΩΝ cannot have been the reading of the papyrus, as Cobet (reading ἀμείνω) suggests.

l. 8. εἰ γὰρ κ. τ. λ.] In Ed. pr. I had edited εἰ γὰρ δὴ τις ἀμοιβῶν τᾶν εἴη τόπος, which suits the appearance of the rubbed and broken papyrus exceedingly well, but (as I had fully admitted) is unsatisfactory on more accounts than one. ἄλλοις ὦν for ἀμοιβῶν is named in the postscript as the suggestion of Sauppe, and is edited by Cobet and Comparetti; and in spite of the great difficulty of believing that the papyrus can have had a σ, (see Mr Goodwin's remarks in the postscript,) I now accede to it. In the line following Sauppe's ἀνέπνευκτος, Cobet's ἀλγεινότατος, and Comparetti's ἀνήκεστος, are palpably against the MS., albeit that Cobet affirms confidently that AN in line 9 is "male lectum pro AAT," naively adding, "Non potest igitur editori sat magna haberi gratia, quod ipsum codicem fidelibus oculis philologorum subjecerit:" whereas ANEI is *certainly* the MS. reading, after which follows *apparently*

- *ἀν[αρότα]τος θάνατος
 10 τούτοις ἀρχηγὸς μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν γέγονε, ποῦ τούτους οὐκ εὐτυχεῖς κρίνειν δίκαιον, ἢ πῶς ἐκλελοιπέναι
 15 τὸν βίον, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς γεγονέναι καλλίω γένεσιν τῆς πρώτης ὑπαρξάσης; τότε μὲν γὰρ παῖδες ὄντες ἄφρονες ἦσαν, νῦν δ' ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γεγόνασι, καὶ (τ)ότε μὲν *ἐν πολλῶ χρόνῳ καὶ διὰ πολλῶν κινδύνων τὴν ἀρετὴν
 25 *ἀπεδείξαντο, νῦν δ' ἀπὸ ταύτης *ἀξιοθῆναι γνωρίμους πᾶσι, καὶ *μνημονεウトὸς δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν γέγονε. *καὶ τίς καιρὸς ἐν

Col. 11, l. 9, ἀνειν...ος MS. l. 12, πος MS. first hand, but a correction (to πον?) has been made. l. 16, καλλειω MS. l. 22, μεν πολλων MS. l. 25, ἀπεδείξαν, MS. The correction is by Cobet, but his remark, "est in Cod. duabus litterulis locus vacuus" seems to be erroneous. l. 26. The MS. has been corrected, and is almost illegible: it seems to have had ἀξαθην, which has been altered into ἀξαθαι; ἀρξασθαι Ed. pr. in text: ἀξιοθῆναι is hinted in a note. Kayser suggests ἐξαντῆς; Cæsar proposes ἄξιον or ἀξιούμεν. Cobet confesses himself fairly puzzled: "Diu et multum frustra quæsiui." Mr Lightfoot thinks that some such word as ἐκβέβηκε or ἐξέβη lies hid in the MS. reading, and (in common with Cobet) he reads γεγονέναι below: ἐξείργασται had occurred to myself, but it can hardly stand. l. 28, μνημονονεντουσ διὰ MS. apparently. l. 29, γεγονεαι τις καιρος MS. The correction is by Schäfer. ναί τις Ed. pr. τις γάρ Cobet.

the half of an H; which leads me to suppose that the scribe wrote ἀνειηροτατος which I have changed into the Attic form. The facsimile is very accurate, and deserves all Cobet's commendations.

Col. 11, l. 10. ἀρχηγὸς] ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων ἀρχηγοί. Isocr. *Paneg.* p. 53 B.

l. 12. οὐκ εὐτυχεῖς] equivalent to ἀτυχεῖς, as one word.

l. 29. τίς καιρός... τίς τόπος] Cf. Thuc. II. 43. ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν παρὰ

- 30 ᾧ τῆς τούτων ἀρετῆς οὐ
μνημονεύσομεν; τίς τόπος
ἐν ᾧ ζήλου καὶ τῶν
ἐντιμοτάτων ἐπαίνων
τυγχάνοντας οὐκ ὀψό(μ)[ε]-
35 θα; πότερον οὐκ ἐν τοῖς τῇ[s]
πόλεως ἀγαθοῖς; ἀλλὰ τ(ὰ)
διὰ τούτους γεγονότα τ[ιν](as)
ἄλλους ἢ τούτους ἐπαινέισθαι
καὶ μνήμης τυγχάνειν πο(ι)-
40 ἥσει; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις
εὐπραξίαις; ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τούτων
ἀρετῇ βεβαίως αὐτῶν ἀπο-
λαύσομεν. παρὰ ποία δὲ τῶν
44 ἡλικιῶν οὐ μακαριστο[ι]

Col. 12.

- γενήσονται; πρῶτον μὲν πα]-
ρὰ τοῖς γ[έρουσιν, οὗτοι γὰρ ᾗ]-
φοβον ᾗ[ξουσιν τὸν λοιπὸν]
βίον κα[τὰ τὴν ἀρτίως]
5 γεγενη[μένην ἀσφάλειαν]
διὰ τούτ[ους· ἔπειτα παρὰ τοῖς]
ἡλικιώ(τ)[αις] - - -
τελευτησ[αντ] - -
καλῶς σ - - - -

Col. 11, l. 33, ἐντιμοτάτων MS. l. 39, μνήμης MS. apparently.

τῷ ἐντυχόντι αἰεὶ καὶ λόγου καὶ ἔργου καιρῷ ἀείμνηστος καταλείπεται. Compare also Lys. *Epitaph.* §§ 73, 74.

Col. 11, l. 42, ἀπολαύσομεν] The act. fut. is not found elsewhere in Attic, so far as I know: and Cobet's remark that ἀπολαύω is one of the verbs "quorum utraque forma" (the active and middle Attic future) "*usu trita est, ... itaque ἀπολαύσομεν nihil reprehensionis habet*" appears very surprising. At the same time it seems best to retain the MS. reading, when it is certain that there are many verbs whose active and middle futures are synonymous.

Col. 12, l. 1, sqq.] It seems tolerably clear that about half this column was an amplification of the preceding sentence: young, old, middle-aged, will all have cause to bless them.

- 10 παρὰ (πο) - - - - -
 αι γε τὸν - - - - -
 νεωτερο - - - - -
 τα· οὐ τὸ(ν) - - - - -
 σιν αὐτ[οὶ μιμῆσθαι †σπου]-
 15 δάσουσιν - - - - [πα]-
 ραδειγ(μ)[α] - - - - -
 οὐ τήν ἀ[ρετὴν καταλελοι]-
 πασι; οὐκ [ἄξιον ἐγκωμια]-
 ζειν α(ῦ)[τούς] - - - -;
 20 μή τινε[ς] - - - - [κοῦ]-
 φοι λό[γοι] - - - - -
 Ἑλλη(ν) - - - - -
 τῷ (π)ε - - - - -
 παρα(π)ε - - - - -
 25 Φρυγῶν κ - - - - -
 τειας ἐγ - - - - -
 δὲ τῆς ε - - - - -
 τα τοῖς Ἑ[λλησιν]
 ἅπασιν κ[αὶ λόγοις καὶ ᾧ]-

Col. 12, l. 14, σπουδάσουσι.] Considering that the middle future is the only Attic form, so far as is known, it is perhaps a little rash (in so very mutilated a sentence) to propose the active here. At the same time, the restoration looks in other respects extremely probable: and Hyperides (if the papyrus be not corrupt) has elsewhere used other forms of verbs which are unusual, as ἀπολαύσομεν, καθέστακα, &c. The active future is found in Polybius and Diodorus.

l. 25. Φρυγῶν] The remaining part of this column (which seems to have immediately preceded Col. 13) appears to have dwelt on the pleasure which the Greeks took in listening to the tales of the Trojan war: yet to hear of the deeds of Leosthenes ought to be no less pleasurable or profitable. Isocrates similarly complains, ὁρᾶν τοὺς περὶ τὰ Τρωϊκὰ ὑμνουμένους καὶ τραγῳδομένους, to the prejudice of men like Evagoras: but he will try if oratory can τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας εὐλογεῖν μηδὲν χεῖρον τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν καὶ τοῖς μέτροις ἐγκωμιαζόντων. *Essay*. pp. 190 A, 191 B. The restorations of the text must of course be uncertain, and those here inserted are only proposed as approximations. In this second edition I have profited a good deal by Cobet's clever suggestions (pp. 18, 72), where they differed from my readings, but have not followed them implicitly: thus in l. 35 a present tense is certainly required, as appears from γίνεται, and his παρασκευασάντων in l. 39 is no improvement on my διασωσάντων: but where all is uncertain it is not worth while to note every variation.

- 30 δαῖς ἐπά[δοντες· ἀμφό]-
 τερα γάρ ἐ[ξεσται ἐντεῦθεν]
 περὶ Λεωσ[θένους εἰπεῖν]
 καὶ τῶν τ[ετελευτηκότων]
 ἐν τῷ πολ[έμῳ τῷδε· εἰ μὲν γὰρ]
 35 ἡδονῆς ἐν[εκεν ἐγκωμιάζ]-
 ουσιν τὰς τ[ηλικαύτας καρ]-
 τερίας, (τί) γέ[νοιτ' ἂν τοῖς Ἑλ]-
 λησιν ἡδι[ον ἢ ἐπαινος τῶν]
 τὴν ἐλευθερί[αν διασω]-
 40 σάντων ἀ[πὸ τῶν Μακεδό]-
 νων· εἰ δέ [ὠφελείας ἐνε]-
 κεν ἢ τοιά[δε ἀνάμνησις]

✠

Col. 13.

- γίνεται, τίς ἂν λόγος
 ὠφελήσειεν μάλλον
 τὰς τῶν *ἀκουόντων
 ψυχὰς τοῦ τὴν ἀρετὴν
 5 *ἐγκωμιάζοντος καὶ τοὺς
 ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας; Ἑλλὰ μὴν
 ὅτι παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς *λοι-
 ποῖς πᾶσιν εὐδοκμεῖν
 αὐτοὺς ἀναγκαῖον ἐκ τού-

Col. 12, l. 38. The MS. as Cobet suggests, probably had ἡδε[ιον].

Col. 13, l. 1, γίνεται MS. l. 3, ακουσοντων MS. and εγκωμια-
 στοντος below. l. 7, ημειν MS. id. λογος MS.

Col. 13, l. 3. *ἀκουόντων] The act. fut. of ἀκούω appears to be no earlier than Lycophron: examples of the act. fut. of ἐγκωμιάζω occur, though rarely (see the notes in Ed. pr.); and moreover the present participles are best suited to the sense; (though Cobet seems to me to be much too positive in saying "Cod. ακουσόντων exhibit, quod non tantum barbarum est, sed etiam plane absurdum:" Cf. Thuc. iii. 42. ἡγεῖται... ἐκπλήξαι ἂν τοὺς τε ἀντεροῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἀκουσομένους): I therefore now receive into the text the correction ἀκουόντων which I had named in the notes and addenda in Ed. pr., as well as the ἐγκωμιάζοντος of Sauppe, Kayser, and Cobet. Vömel proposes ἀκουσάντων, and Bursian (if I rightly recollect, though I cannot find the place, in some foreign review, where the conjecture is recorded) ἀκουσειόντων.

- 10 τῶν φανερόν ἐστίν· ἐν
 Αἰδοῦ δὲ λογίσασθαι ἄ-
 ξιον τίνες οἱ τὸν ἡγεμό-
 να δεξιωσόμενοι τὸν τού-
 των. ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν *οἰόμεθα
 15 *ὀρᾶν Λεωσθένη δεξιου-
 μένους καὶ θαυμάζοντας
 τῶν *†δηγουμένων *τούς *ἡμιθέους κα-

Col. 13, l. 10, φανερον MS. l. 14, ωομεθα οταν MS. l. 17, δεη-
 γορμενον κα (not και?) MS.

Col. 13, l. 14. οἰόμεθα ὀρᾶν] These clever corrections are due to Mr Shilleto: Cobet approves of the first, but thinks that the οταν of the MS. should be changed into φοιτᾶν, in which few probably will agree with him.

l. 15. δεξιουμένων] Aristides (*Epitaph.* vol. I. p. 146 Dind.) similarly represents the poets saluting the deceased grammarian Alexander of Cotiaëum, τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνοντες.

l. 17. τῶν *†δηγουμένων κ. τ. λ.] I had edited τῶν διειργασμένων (but in the postscript preferring τῶν τε εἰργασμένων, suggested by Sauppe and edited independently by Kayser) καὶ τοῦ μένους, adding however a suspicion about τοῦ μένους in the postscript. This reading is at any rate the only one which comes tolerably near to the letters of the very corrupt MS. and was acquiesced in by no mean scholars, such as those just mentioned. Cobet however butts against it very petulantly: "Hæcine pro Græcis edi in Bentleii et Porsoni patria!" (as though Hemsterhuys should be held answerable for all that is written now-a-days in Leyden!) adding "Dicam primum quid in codice scriptum videatur, nempe τῶν δεηγουμένων καλουμένων." In this he is undoubtedly mistaken, δεηγορ-
 μένων being very distinctly written in the papyrus. "Et καλουμένους quidem disertissime scriptum est." This is a great deal too much to say, as an inspection of the papyrus will shew, although the appearance of the MS. is *more* in favour of this reading, (which Cæsar also conjectured,) than of my own, and upon the whole I believe it to be right. "Hæc quoque sunt vitiosa et corrupta, sed ad verum indagandum et deprehendendum *recta* ducunt," i. e. to τῶν ἡμιθέων καλουμένων, which he edits. Whatever may be thought of the merits of his emendation, his conceptions of a straight line are somewhat peculiar; for there is no communication, direct or indirect, between δεηγορμένων and ἡμιθέων: and so violent a substitution ought not to be made, if any thing nearer to the MS. can be hit upon, which gives a tolerable sense. Cobet has in fact *re-written the entire passage*, possibly quite rightly, but more probably rightly only in part. It seems to me more likely that τούς ἡμιθέους has been omitted altogether before καλουμένων, and that some genitive preceded: I am strongly inclined to believe that δεηγορμένων is a clerical error for διηγουμένων which the scribe had before him in his MS., but this reading is attended with very great difficulties. If indeed we could suppose that an Attic writer might use the present participle of ἡγοῦμαι in a passive

- (λ)ουμένους τοὺς ἐπὶ *Τροίαν
 *στρατεύσαντ[α]ς; ὦν
 20 οὗτος ἀδελφὰς π[ρ]άξεις
 (ἐ)νστησάμενος τοσοῦτον
 [δ]ιήνεγκε ὥστε οἱ μὲν
 (μ)ετὰ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος
 [μ]ίαν πόλιν εἶλον, ὁ δὲ
 25 [μ]ετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πα-
 τ[ρ]ίδος μόνης πᾶσαν
 τ[ῆ]ν τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ
 τ[ῆ]ς Ἀσίας ἄρχουσαν δύ-
 ν[α]μιν ἐταπείνωσε(ν).
 30 κ[α]κεῖνοι μὲν ἔνεκα
 [μ]ιᾶς γυναικὸς ὑβρισθεί-
 σ[α]ς ἤμυναν, ὁ δὲ πα-
 σ[ῶ]ν τῶν Ἑλληνίδων
 τ[ὰς] ἐπιφερομένας
 35 [ὑ]βρεις ἐκώλυσεν με-
 τὰ τῶν συνθαπτομέ-

Col. 13, l. 19, στρατεῖαν στρασαντ. MS.

sense, nothing could suit the context better, *wondering at what was being related to them* (about the deeds of Leosthenes); but although the perfect and 1 aor. of ἡγοῦμαι or its compounds are sometimes used as passives, there seems to be no example of a present passive. Some grammarians however, as Herodian, acknowledge a form ἡγέω. I therefore insert the correction διηγουμένων, but obelize it; if not the true reading, it may at any rate lead to it. Nothing better than διηγημένων suggests itself, but this is not entirely satisfactory.

Col. 13, l. 22. ὥστε οἱ μὲν κ.τ.λ.] Cf. Isocr. *Paneg.* v. 57 c. τοιοῦτοις ἀνδράσιν, οἱ τοσοῦτον τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατευσαμένων διήνεγκαν ὅσον οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ μίαν πόλιν στρατεύσαντες ἔτη δέκα διέτριψαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας δύναμιν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ κατεπολέμησαν· οὐ μόνον δὲ τὰς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδας διέσωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα σύμπασαν ἠλευθέρωσαν. See also p. 78 E, and p. 80 A. Pseudo-Demosth. *Epitaph.* p. 1392. τοσοῦτῃ γὰρ ἀμείνους τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίαν στρατευσαμένων νομίζουσιν· ἂν εἰκότως, ὅσον οἱ μὲν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὄντες ἀριστεῖς δέκ' ἔτη τῆς Ἀσίας ἐν χώριον πολιορκοῦντες μόλις εἶλον, οὗτοι δὲ τὸν ἐκ πάσης τῆς ἡπείρου στόλον ἐλθόντα μόνον... ἤμυναντο κ.τ.λ. These coincidences are hardly due to chance. Hyperides is said to have studied under Isocrates (*Philostr. Vit. Soph.* i. 17), and at all events probably knew his works; while the Sophist who personated Demosthenes seems both here and elsewhere to have copied Hyperides.

[ν]ων νῦν αὐτῷ ἀνδρῶν.
 *Καὶ [τ]ῶν μετ' ἐκείνους μὲν
 [γ]εγεννημένων ἄξια
 40 [δ]ὲ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρε-
 [τ]ῆς διαπεπραγμένων,—
 [λ]έγω *δὲ τοὺς περὶ Μιλ-
 τιάδην καὶ Θεμισ-
 [τ]οκλέα καὶ τοὺς ἄλ-

Col. 14.

λους, οἱ τὴν Ἑλλά(δ)[α]
 ἐλευθερώσαντες ἔν-
 τιμον μὲν τὴν πα-
 τρίδα κατέστησαν ἔν-
 5 δοξον *δὲ τὸν αὐτῶν βίον
 ἐποίησαν,—ὧν οὗτος τ[οσ]-
 οῦτον ὑπερέσχεν ἀν-
 δρεία καὶ φρονήσει ὅσ-
 ον οἱ μὲν ἐπελθοῦσαν
 10 τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων δύνα-
 μιν ἡμύναντο, ὁ δὲ μη-
 δ' ἐπελθεῖν ἐποίησεν,
 κάκεῖνοι μὲν ἐν τῇ οἰ-
 κείᾳ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπεΐδον

Col. 13, l. 38, [τ]ῶν commences the line in MS. The correction is by Kayser. l. 39, γεγεννημένων MS. l. 42, δη MS. id. Μιλτιάδην MS. apparently.

Col. 14, l. 2, εντειμον MS. l. 5, ενδοξον τον MS. l. 10, τη MS. l. 13, οικιαι MS. l. 14, εχθους MS.

Col. 13, l. 42. τοὺς περὶ Μιλτιάδην] We learn distinctly that the Persian wars were a standing subject of discourse in funeral orations, περὶ ὧν οἱ μάλιστα δυνήθεντες τῶν πολιτῶν εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς δημοσίᾳ θαπτομένοις πολλάκις εἰρήκασιν. Isocr. *Paneg.* p. 55 D. (See also p. 73 B. ἡδιστα συνδιατρίβομεν τοῖς Τρωικοῖς καὶ Περσικοῖς.) Plato (*Menex.* pp. 239—241) enlarges on them. For ἐγώ, Sauppe, Cæsar, and Cobet read λέγω, which I now adopt, as well as Cæsar's punctuation, instead of that of Ed. pr., where there is no stop at ἀνδρῶν, διαπεπραγμένων concluding the paragraph: καὶ however is required before τῶν which I have added after Kayser.

Col. 14, l. 6, ὧν] The construction is irregular; τούτων is strictly required, and may even be the true reading.

- 15 ἀγωνιζομένους, οὗτος
 δὲ ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν περι-
 εγένετο τῶν ἀντιπάλων.
 τοῖμαι δὲ καὶ *τοὺς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλή-
 λους φιλίαν τῷ δήμῳ βε-
 20 βαιότατα ἐνδειξαμένους,
 λέγω δὲ Ἀρμόδιον καὶ Ἀρισ-
 τογείτονα, *οὐδένας *τούτους
 αὐτοῖς οἰκειότερους *ἢ ὑμῖν
 εἶναι νομίζειν ὡς Λεωσ-
 25 θέν(η) καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνῳ συν-
 αγωνισαμένους, οὐδ' ἐ(κε)ί-

Col. 14, l. 18, καὶ τὴν MS. l. 22, οὐθενους οὕτως MS. l. 23, οἰκειότερους ὑμῖν MS.

Col. 14, l. 18. οἶμαι κ.τ.λ.] This passage is exceedingly corrupt in the MS. and is probably not yet restored completely. The text however may be rendered thus: *And even with regard to those who gave to the people such a signal proof of their mutual attachment, I mean Harmodius and Aristogeiton, I conceive that no class of persons (in Hades) would regard them (H. and A.) as dearer friends to themselves or to you than Leosthenes and his comrades, or would associate more intimately with them (H. and A.) in the other world than with these (L. and his comrades).*

l. 21. Ἀρμόδιον καὶ Ἀριστογείτονα] The orators are full of allusions to them. See Sauppe, *Oratt. Att. Index*, pp. 19, 22, 149. Cf. especially Aeschin. c. Tim. p. 18, Steph. παραφέρων τοὺς ἐνεργέτας τοὺς ὑμετέρους Ἀρμόδιον καὶ Ἀριστογείτονα καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους πίστιν καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὡς συνήνεγκε τῇ πόλει διεξιῶν. See also Aristot. *Rhet.* II. 23. καὶ ὅτι συγγενέστερος αὐτός· τὰ γοῦν ἔργα συγγενέστερά ἐστι τὰ ἐμὰ τοῖς Ἀρμόδιον καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος ἢ τὰ σά. (Iphicrates is the speaker.)

l. 22. οὐδένας κ.τ.λ.] The corrections are by Sauppe, except that I have altered his οὐθένας into the Attic form, (Cobet also and A. Schäfer suspected this to be the true reading) and omitted αὖν before εἶναι, which does not seem to be the MS. reading, or to be necessary (see note on Col. 9, l. 2). Perhaps ὑμῖν should be cancelled or even changed into αὖν, which would be somewhat milder. See Comparetti's judicious remarks. For ὡς after the comparative Sauppe compares Lys. *Or.* 7. § 31. προθυμότερον ὡς ἠναγκαζόμεν. See Stallb. on Plat. *Rep.* p. 410 D.

l. 26. ἐκείνοις] Cobet says "Qui sint ἐκείνοι non apparet. Sed multum abest ut illa lectio certa sit." The traces of the MS. agree very well, and ἐκείνοι are clearly Harmodius and Aristogeiton according to the present reading: πλησιάζειαν however strangely agrees with some word like *τινες*, understood from οὐδένας. Possibly Cobet may be right in suspecting πλησιάζειαν to be the true reading.

- νοῖς ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ τούτοις
 πλησιάζειαν ἐν Αἴδου. εἰκότ(ως).
 οὐκ ἐλάττω γὰρ ἐκείνων ἔργα
 30 διεπράξαντο, ἀλλ', εἰ δέον εἰπεῖν,
 καὶ μείζω· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ(ς)
 τῆς πατρίδος τυράννους (κ)-
 τέλυσαν, οὔτοι δὲ τοὺς τῆς Ἑλ-
 λάδος ἀπάσης. ὦ καλῆς μὲν
 35 καὶ παραδόξου τόλμης τῆς
 πραχθείσης ὑπὸ τῶνδε τῶν
 ἀνδρῶν, ἐνδόξου δὲ καὶ με-
 γαλοπρεποῦς προαιρέσεως
 ἧς *προείλοντο, ὑπερ(βαλ)-
 40 λούσης δὲ ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀ(ν)δρα-
 γαθίας τῆς ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις
 ἦν οὔτοι παρασχόμενοι εἰς
 τὴν κοινὴν ἐλευθερίαν [τὴν]
 τῶν Ἑλλήνων

Col. 14, l. 28, ατου MS. apparently. l. 31, μείζων MS. l. 39, προσείλοντο MS.

Col. 14, l. 30. δέον] Here used for δέον ἐστί. See Saupp. on Dem. *Olynth.* III. § 1, for two other instances (all that he knows of); and Schöm. on Isæus, pp. 345, 443, for examples of ἐξόν and προσῆκον similarly used.

l. 44. Ἑλλήνων] sc. τὰς αὐτῶν ψυχὰς ἀνέλωσαν. Cf. Lycurg. c. *Leocr.* § 46. εἰς τὴν κοινὴν σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀνέλωσαν.

FRAGMENT OF THE FUNERAL ORATION OF HYPERIDES

NOT CONTAINED IN THE PAPYRUS:

BEING A PORTION OF THE EPILOGUE.

Ὑπερίδου. Χαλεπὸν μὲν ἴσως ἐστὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ὄντας πάθεσι παραμυθεῖσθαι· τὰ γὰρ πένθη οὔτε λόγῳ οὔτε νόμῳ κοιμίζεται, ἀλλ' ἡ φύσις ἐκάστου καὶ φιλία πρὸς τὸν τελευτήσαντα τὸν ὀρισμὸν¹ ἔχει τοῦ λυπεῖσθαι· ὅμως δὲ χρή θαρρεῖν καὶ τῆς λύπης παραιρεῖν εἰς τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον, καὶ μεμνήσθαι μὴ μόνον τοῦ θανάτου τῶν τετελευτηκότων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀρε-

¹ τὸν ὀρισμὸν Saupp. (Fragm. Oratt. Att. p. 292). ὀρισμὸν MSS.

Fragm. ap. Stob. l. l. Χαλεπὸν κ.τ.λ.] With this noble passage compare the epilogue of the Pseudo-Demosthenic Funeral Oration (pp. 1399, 1400): particularly the words ἐστὶ μὲν οὖν ἴσως χαλεπὸν τὰς παρούσας συμφορὰς λόγῳ κουφίσαι· δεῖ δ' ὅμως πειρᾶσθαι κ.τ.λ. See also the epilogue in Pericles' speech (Thuc. ii. 44—46): *e.g.* χαλεπὸν μὲν οὖν οἶδα πείθειν ὄν...καρτερεῖν δὲ χρή κ.τ.λ. and the conclusion of the *Menæxenus*, p. 247 c, sqq., likewise Dionys. Hal. *Ars Rhet.* c. 6, § 4.

l. 3. νόμῳ.] This is probably to be understood of the inability of the honors conferred by law on the deceased and their children, or possibly of the impotence of law itself, to restrain the grief of the survivors. (Cf. Thucyd. ii. 35, for λόγος and νόμος.) I fear that we can hardly take νόμος (unqualified by any epithet) to mean the strains of music, though this rendering would produce a very beautiful sense. Compare Horace (*Epist.* i. l. 34), *Sunt verba et voces quibus hunc lenire dolorem Possis, et magnam morbi deponere partem:* and Eurip. *Hipp.* 478. εἰσὶν δ' ἐπφθαῖ καὶ λόγοι θελεκτήριοι.

l. 4. ὀρισμὸν] This word though not uncommon in late writers scarcely occurs elsewhere in Attic Greek. Aristotle indeed (*Ethic.* lib. viii. c. 7) has it: ἀκριβὴς μὲν οὖν ἐν τούτοις οὐκ ἐστὶν ὀρισμὸς ἕως τίνος οἱ φίλοι. See Steph. *Thes.* s. v. Ed. Hase and Dind.

τῆς ἥς καταλελοίπασιν. οὐ γὰρ θρήνων ἄξια πεπόν-
 θασιν, ἀλλ' ἐπαίνων μεγάλων πεποιήκασιν. εἰ δὲ
 γήρως θνητοῦ μὴ μετέσχον, ἀλλ' εὐδοξίαν ἀγήρατον
 εἰλήφασιν εὐδαίμονές τε γεγόνασιν κατὰ πάντα. ὅσοι
 μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἄπαιδες τετελευτήκασιν, οἱ παρὰ τῶν
 Ἑλλήνων ἔπαινοι παῖδες αὐτῶν ἀθάνατοι ἔσονται· ὅσοι
 δὲ παῖδας καταλελοίπασιν, ἡ τῆς πατρίδος εὖνοια
 ἐπίτροπος αὐτοῖς τῶν παίδων καταστήσεται. πρὸς δὲ
 τούτοις, εἰ μὲν ἔστι τὸ ἀποθανεῖν ὅμοιον τῷ μὴ γε-
 νέσθαι, ἀπηλλαγμένοι εἰσὶ νόσων καὶ λύπης καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων τῶν προσπιπτόντων εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον·
 εἰ δ' ἔστιν αἴσθησις ἐν Αἴδου καὶ ἐπιμέλεια παρὰ τοῦ
 δαιμονίου, ὥσπερ ὑπολαμβάνομεν, εἰκὸς¹ τοὺς ταῖς

¹ εἰκὸς Toup (on Longin. c. 34) and Cobet (Var. Lectt. p. 343, not aware that his conjecture had been anticipated.) εἴη ἂν Saupp. εἶναι 2 MSS. εἴη other MSS.

l. 1. οὐ γὰρ θρήνων κ.τ.λ.] οἱ δὲ εὐδαίμονες τῷ δικαίῳ λογισμῷ οἱ... ἀντὶ μικροῦ χρόνου πολὺν καὶ τὸν ἅπαντα εὐκλειαν ἀγήρως καταλείπουσι. Pseudo-Dem. *Epitaph.* p. 1399. Quos laudare quam pigere præstabit. Cic. *Philipp.* xiv. § 34.

l. 3. εὐδοξίαν ἀγήρατον κ.τ.λ.] ἀγήρατοι μὲν αὐτῶν αἱ μνημαί...οἱ πενθοῦνται μὲν διὰ τὴν φύσιν ὡς θνητοὶ, ὑμνοῦνται δὲ ὡς ἀθάνατοι διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν. Lys. *Epitaph.* §§ 130, 131. τὸν ἀγήρων ἔπαινον ἐλάβανον καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐπισημότατον...ἐν ᾧ ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν...ἀείμνηστος καταλείπεται. Thuc. ii. 43. See also Isocr. *Paneg.* p. 57 D. and Cic. *Philipp.* xiv. § 32.

l. 8. ἐπίτροπος] See above, Col. 10, l. 41.

l. 9, εἰ μὲν ἔστι κ.τ.λ.] As Epicurus at this time taught, who says ὁ θάνατος οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· τὸ γὰρ διαλυθὲν ἀναισθητεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἀναισθητον οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. (ap. Stob. tit. 118, 30.) See also Pseudo-Plat. *Asiarch.* p. 369 c. Aristot. *Eth.* iii. 6. Athen. viii. 14. p. 336 c. The words ἀπηλλαγμένοι νόσων seem to allude to the speediness of death in battle. Cf. Thuc. ii. 43 (in fine) and Arnold's note.

l. 12. εἰ δ' ἔστιν αἴσθησις] The doctrine of a future life is implied in Plat. *Menæx.* p. 247 c, and asserted dubiously in Pseudo-Demosth. *Epitaph.* p. 1400. καταμαντευόμενοι κἀκεῖ (in Hades) τῶν αὐτῶν τιμῶν ἡγοῦμεθ' αὐτοὺς τυγχάνειν. Menander (*Rhet. Gr.* Vol. iii. p. 421, Speng.) perhaps alludes to this passage, while giving the following rule: θήσεις κεφάλαιον ἕτερον τὸ παραμυθητικόν...ὅτι οὐ δεῖ θρηνεῖν πολιτεύεται γὰρ μετὰ τῶν θεῶν κ.τ.λ. See also Dionys. Hal. *Ars Rhet.* 6, § 5. ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ περὶ ψυχῆς ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἀθάνατος, καὶ ὅτι τοὺς τοιούτους ἐν θεοῖς ὄντας ἄμεινον εἰκὸς ἀπαλλάττειν, and Cic. *Philipp.* xiv. § 32. Vos vero qui extremum spiritum in victoria effudistis, piorum estis sedem et locum consecuti.

τιμαῖς τῶν θεῶν καταλυομέναις βοηθήσαντας πλείστης
κηδεμονίας¹ ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου² τυγχάνειν. JOHANN.
Stob. *Floril.* tit. 124, § 36.

¹ κηδεμονίας Ruhnck. (*Hist. Crit. Oratt. Gr.* p. lxi.) and Sauppe:
ἐπιμελείας some MSS., others εὐδαιμονίας before ὑπὸ App. Florent. ad
Stob. (p. 80, Gaisf.) inserts καί. The Appendix and Maximus Conf.
(*Op. t.* 2, p. 642, Ed. Comb.) quoting the last sentence ascribe it to Apol-
lonius. "Patebit erroris fons consulenti Stobæum 124, 36 in quo præ-
cedit sententia Apollonii." Gaisf. After ἐπιμέλεια St Maximus adds τῶν
οἰχομένων, probably in order to make the short extract more intelligible.

² δαίμονος 2 MSS.

1. 1, ταῖς τιμαῖς τῶν θεῶν κ. τ. λ.] See above, Col. 9, l. 25, and
Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, c. lvi. (vol. 7, p. 178.)

1. 2, κηδεμονίας] The reading ἐπιμελείας is probably, as Ruhnck
observes, "explicatio vocis, quam reposuimus." κηδεμονία, like some other
words used by Hyperides, is much more common in later Greek than in
Attic (see Steph. *Thes.* s. v. Ed. Valp.), but we have an instance in
Plato *Rep.* p. 463 D, περὶ πατέρας κηδεμονία. "Nihil aliud orator ad-
didit præter pauca verba solemnia in hanc sententiam: νῦν δὲ ἤδη πάντες
κοινῇ κατὰ τὸν νόμον τοὺς τετελευτηκότας ἀπολοφυράμενοι ἄπιτε." Cobet.

UNCERTAIN FRAGMENT OF HYPERIDES, WHICH
SEEMS TO BELONG TO THIS ORATION.

Ὑπερίδης δὲ τὸν ἀγήρατον χρόνον (εἶρηκε).
JULIUS POLLUX. *Lib.* II. § 14.

[Unc. frag.] This citation seems rightly referred by Sauppe to the
ἐπιτάφιος. See the passage in Stobæus, quoted above, p. 43, l. 3.

APPENDIX.

A. ON THE FUNERAL ORATIONS OF THE GREEKS.

THE Athenians, if Demosthenes may be believed, were the only people who made funeral orations over those who fell in the service of the state¹. Although, as will appear in the sequel, this is scarcely true in the letter, yet such orations appear to have been *customary*² among the Athenians alone: among others they were only occasional, and borrowed, it may be, from Attic example. The origin of their institution is somewhat uncertain, but it is undoubtedly very ancient. By some it has been fathered upon Solon, to whom the later Greeks were accustomed to ascribe almost any law or usage, which could not otherwise be accounted for³. Others with greater probability, perhaps, have conceived that they took their origin from the Persian wars⁴. It may be confidently affirmed that they could not have been instituted much later, since we have an actual example of one within forty years afterwards, and since about nine years later still, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, (B.C. 431,) the practice was so firmly established that a regular course of ceremonies was prescribed for the occasion. The third day after the bodies had been exposed to view, they were carried forth in hearses to the Cerameicus, the bones or bodies of each tribe being borne in a separate chest of cypress wood. An empty litter, covered with a pall, was carried in honour of those whose

¹ μόνοι τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τοῖς τελευτήσασι δημοσίᾳ ποιεῖτε λόγους ἐπιταφίους. *Dem. adv. Lept.* p. 499. (Reiske.)

² They are said to have been annual. See Tayl. *Lectt. Lys.* c. III. (Reiske, *Oratt. Att.* t. vi. p. 236.) Yet there could hardly have been a rigid and invariable rule in such a matter, and it is more probable that an oration was delivered as often as the action appeared to deserve one; more especially as the bodies of the slain were exhibited whenever it was possible to produce them.

³ The Scholiast on Thucydides, II. 35, understands Pericles to ascribe the institution to Solon: and certainly this interpretation looks very probable. Some (as the tragedians) carried the practice as high as the mythical ages. See Eudocia (cited by Markland) in Schäf. *App. Crit. in Demosth.* Tom. III. p. 262; also Dionys. Halic. *Ant. Rom.* v. 17, and Diog. Laert. *Sol.* p. 37 B. St.

⁴ See Diod. Sic. XI. 33, who says expressly τότε πρῶτον: also Dionys. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* v. 17. With these Bishop Thirlwall (*Hist. Gr.* vol. III. p. 54) and Mr Grote (*Hist. Gr.* vol. VI. p. 41) agree.

corpses could not be brought from the battle-field. The procession was not confined to Athenian citizens, but included women and foreigners. Before the ground closed upon them, the orator appointed by the people delivered his harangue over their tomb⁵.

It may not be uninteresting briefly to enumerate the specimens of this kind of composition during the classical period, of which any notice has descended to us.

1. The earliest, I believe, is the oration of Pericles in honor of the citizens who fell before Samos in a war which was concluded B. C. 440. Stesimbrotus quoted by Plutarch in his life of Pericles (p. 156 D) has preserved a fine sentiment from this speech, which also seems to be the work of Pericles alluded to by Aristotle (*Rhet.* i. 7, III. 10), where he compares the loss of the slain to the abstraction of the spring from the year. Such at least is the opinion of Mr Grote (*Hist. Gr.* vol. VI. p. 41), and it certainly seems preferable to the common notion that Aristotle has given a different version of the same speech, which Thucydides has incorporated into his history.

Pericles likewise delivered an harangue over those who were slain in the first year of the Peloponnesian war, 431 B. C. The substance of its contents, as delivered by Thucydides (II. 35—46), is too well known to be dwelt upon in this place. It appears that the predecessors of Pericles on these occasions had dwelt on the wisdom of the legislator (Solon?) who had appointed that an encomium should be pronounced over those who had lost their lives in battle for their country. Who they were cannot now be determined, and it is scarcely probable that their speeches were published.

2. The next in order, though of uncertain date, is the funeral oration composed by Gorgias the Sicilian. A considerable fragment of this production has come down to us, which contains no historical allusion, but consists only of a series of artificial and forced antitheses in laudation of the deceased warriors. It appears from Philostratus, who considered it a specimen of *ὑπερβάλλουσα σοφία*, that it was delivered at Athens over those who fell in the

⁵ Thuc. II. 34. See also Thirlw. *Hist. Gr.* vol. III. p. 130.

wars, and was intended to excite the Greeks against Persia, and to dissuade them from spending their efforts against each other. We learn that he dwelt much on the Persian wars in this declamation, which belongs to the period of the Peloponnesian war, sometime not earlier than 427 B.C. when Gorgias, then advanced in years, first came to Athens⁶. The stilted and unnatural style of this sophist exerted but too powerful an influence at Athens, and formed the model upon which the work now to be mentioned was formed.

3. The funeral oration bearing the name of Lysias was written to commemorate the valour of the Athenians who, under the command of Iphicrates, went to the aid of the Corinthians B.C. 394. The genuineness of this composition has been much contested, but there is no doubt that it is the same which the ancient critics assign to him⁷. About five-sixths of the discourse consist of allusions (mythical and historical) to bye-gone times in a dull chronological enumeration, and the actual subject is scarcely touched before the sixty-seventh section; and even then almost every sentence might as well have suited any other funeral oration whatever. "The whole essay," says Müller, "is pervaded by a regular monotonous parallelism of sentences, the antithesis being often one of words rather than of thoughts. Polus or any other pupil of Gorgias could hardly have revelled more in assonances and such-like jingling rhetoric."

Though we have now only one funeral discourse of Lysias, there were more in the time of the author of the *Lives of the Ten Orators*, falsely ascribed to Plutarch. Both he and his imitators Photius and Suidas (quoted at length by Sauppe,

⁶ See Saupp. *Fragm. Oratt. Att.* pp. 129, 130. Some scholars consider that the speech was never delivered in public. See Smith *Dict. Biogr.* s. v. Gorgias, and Stallb. *Proleg. in Plat. Menex.* p. 12.

⁷ Harpocration, a discriminative grammarian, cites it, without expressing any doubt whether it is genuine. Its genuineness is defended by K. O. Müller (*Hist. Gr. Lit.* p. 499, Engl. Tr.) and by Stallbaum in this very year (*Proleg. ad Plat. Menex.* p. 12; Ed. sec.), who names the principal authorities on both sides. Whether Lysias be the author or not, it seems to be a production of the fourth century B.C. It is somewhat surprising however that Bishop Thirlwall should designate it as "a noble oration, a worthy rival to that of Thucydides," *Hist. Gr.* c. xx. (vol. III. p. 131), and that Mr Grote should call it "a very fine composition" (*Hist. Gr.* vol. VI. p. 191). Prof. Dobree's estimate of it is very different. He calls it "non modo Lysia sed quovis oratore indignam" (*Adv.* vol. I. p. 8): it is far from certain however whether the author is "pro Lysia nescio quis e scholarum umbra declamator."

Fragm. Oratt. Att. p. 170) speak of the funeral orations of Lysias in the plural number.

4. We have the authority of Photius for saying that Isocrates was guilty of plagiarism for having introduced into his *Panegyricus* "many things which had been said by Archinus and Thucydides and Lysias in their funeral orations⁸." If this be so, the funeral oration of Archinus will be somewhat earlier than 380 B.C. which is the date of the above-named work of Isocrates. Plato in his *Menexenus* (p. 234 B) appears to indicate that he was acquainted with some funeral oration of Archinus. The date and circumstances of this speech are unknown, but a fragment of Archinus (on the mortal condition of man) is preserved by Clement of Alexandria, which seems to belong to it⁹.

5. Later than the above in order of time, as seems most probable, is the *Menexenus* of Plato. Unhappily this work is in a great degree unhistorical. Socrates is represented as the speaker, and professes to have been taught the oration by Aspasia; but he talks about events which took place thirteen years after his own death, which last occurred B.C. 399. Whether the anachronism has been committed by accident or design—the latter seems most probable—it is manifest that small reliance can be placed on the Dialogue for historical purposes; moreover, the ironical and the serious are so blended together throughout the whole of it, that he will be a bold rather than a wise man, who shall undertake to separate the one from the other. It is perfectly clear from a comparison of this dialogue with the other funeral orations, that it was a good deal formed after their style, and treated of the same subjects,—the mythical history of Athens, the indigenous character of the inhabitants, the Persian wars, the education of the deceased, their valour, and the like; but at the same time this treatment is occasionally so overdone, that it becomes evident that Plato is indulging his sarcastic propensities at the expense of the orators (more especially those, of the Sicilian school, it may be) and their auditors¹⁰.

⁸ Phot. *Bibl.* p. 487. Ed. Bekk.

⁹ See Saupp. *Fragm. Oratt. Att.* pp. 166, 167. I cannot agree with the account in Smith's *Dict. Biogr.* s. v. Archinus. Very probably Dion was also the author of an *ἐπιδείξις*; see Plato, as above; but if so, the bare fact is all that can be collected.

¹⁰ *Perspectum satis est, opinor, rideri in hoc libro Atheniensium vanam cupidit-*

6. We now come to an instance of an *ἐπιτάφιος λόγος* among the Asiatic Greeks.

On the death of Mausolus, king of Caria (B.C. 352), his queen Artemisia offered a prize for the best literary production in his honor. Theodectes, a Lycian, but a pupil of Plato and Isocrates, Isocrates of Apollonia, and Theopompus of Chios (both of whom were likewise disciples of the Athenian Isocrates), as well as Naucrates the Erythraean are mentioned among the candidates. One of the compositions, that of Theodectes, assumed the form of a tragedy. The prize is reported by some to have been assigned to him, by others to Theopompus. The oration, however, of Naucrates was thought worthy of preservation, and was known to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who mentions it among the classic models of this kind of composition¹¹.

7. Demosthenes has left on record an express testimony that he was appointed to deliver a speech in honor of those Athenians who fell at the ruinous battle of Chaeronea, B.C. 338¹². In the editions of his works we have an *ἐπιτάφιος λόγος* which manifestly refers to the battle of Chaeronea. Whether this speech be genuine or not has been of late much debated. That it is a very early production is certain, inasmuch as Dionysius of Halicarnassus refers to it, though he speaks of it with great contempt and considers it spurious¹³. And the ancient critics in general appear to have entertained the same opinion: Syrianus, however, (in the fifth century after Christ) thought it genuine, admitting at the same

tatem in audiendis probandisque oratoribus, inanibus laudum suarum præconibus, conspicuam: rideri item et imitando deludi vanam rhetorum, artis suæ præstigiis populum decipientium, sollertiam et calliditatem: utrumque autem ita fieri ut Plato ipse in exagitandis studiis oratoris vel servatis rhetorum artibus summus orator extitisse judicandus sit. Stallb. *Proleg. in Menex.* p. 20. The doubts about the genuineness of this Dialogue seem to be ill-founded. The external evidence in its favour is decidedly strong. See Stallbaum, as above, pp. 26, 27.

¹¹ Suidas s. v. *Θεοδέκτης*, vol. I. p. 1130. Ed. Bern. Some have affirmed (and Ruhnken is among the number) that the Athenian Isocrates himself contended on this occasion: but this seems to be an error. See Suidas s. v. *Ἰσοκράτης* 'Αμύκλα and Bernhardt's note, vol. I. p. 1078. The work of Isocrates entitled *Evagoras*, though written in honour of that prince after his death, cannot properly be called a funeral oration: it is simply a panegyric. The same remark is to be made of a speech composed by Aristotle in honour of Hermias. See Tayl. *Lectt. Lys.* c. III. (Reiske *Oratt. Att.* vol. VI. p. 234.)

¹² *χειροτονῶν ὁ δῆμος τὸν ἐροῦντ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι... ἐχειροτόνησεν... ἐμέ.* Demosth. *de Coron.* p. 320.

¹³ *οὐχ ἡγοῦμαι (τὸν ἐπιτάφιον) ὑπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς γεγράφθαι.* *De adm. vi* Demosth. c. 23. Later in the same work (c. 44) he calls it *ὁ φορτικὸς καὶ κενὸς καὶ παιδαριώδης ἐπιτάφιος*.

time that *τινὲς αἰτιῶνται ὡς παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ ῥήτορος συγκείμενον*¹⁴. The question has been carefully discussed by Westermann, and seems to me (with all respect for Böhnecke's opinion to the contrary), to have been satisfactorily settled, allowance being made for the difficulty of arriving at a certain conclusion¹⁵. The meagreness and puerility of many parts are enough to raise a very strong suspicion of its spuriousness: the bungling imitations of the *Menæxenus* still further increase it: but the totally un-Demosthenic manner of speaking about Philip, and the ridiculous falsification of the history, so far as the Thebans are concerned, are little less than conclusive against it. If it be not the work of Demosthenes, we can only suppose that it is the production of a sophist, who wrote in the name of Demosthenes, either playfully or fraudulently. All the appearances of the speech coincide with this supposition: we have a series of jejune mythological periods intended to set forth the author's learning, but which unluckily prove his ignorance: we have but scanty details of the battle of Chæronea, and those details in part wrong: we have the style of a clever Atticist, but at the same time of one whose diction creates occasional misgivings that he was no Athenian¹⁶. After giving this speech a careful consideration, I venture to express an opinion that the author was acquainted with the ἐπιτάφιος of Hyperides and has imitated it, more especially in his *Epilogus*. It is some compensation, it may be added, for the loss of the genuine composition of Demosthenes, that Lycurgus has devoted a fine section (c. 12) of his speech against Leocrates to the same subject.

8. The last funeral oration which belongs to the genuine Hellenic period is that of Hyperides (B.C. 322) about which little need here be said. As a work of art it may, perhaps, be placed on a level with the speeches of Pericles and Aspasia, as these are delivered to us by Thucydides and Plato; and it will

¹⁴ Walz. *Rhett. Gr.* t. iv. p. 44 (note); cited and insisted on by Böhnecke. *Forsch. Att. Red.* p. 573, (note.)

¹⁵ *Quæst. Dem.* II. pp. 49—70: reprinted in Dindorf's edition of Demosth. vol. VII. p. 1393, sqq.

¹⁶ The word *φύσις* thrice used as equivalent to *ortus* has an awkward look: again at p. 1394, 7, *ἐι ἐφύετο*.... *παρεκδέσαν* Spengel observes, "Atticus orator optativum cum imperfecto dedisset." Yet too much stress must not be laid on points of this kind. Good writers sometimes use words and constructions which one would not have expected.

probably be regarded by most persons as greatly superior to such productions, as those ascribed to Lysias and Demosthenes. It deals more in historical allusions than any one of the four. At the same time, there is in it a certain general resemblance to all of them, and the more striking parallel passages are pointed out in the notes to the present edition¹⁷.

It would be going too far away from the present subject to enumerate the funeral orations which are found in considerable numbers among the later Greeks, both Pagan and Christian. Still less is it necessary to inquire into the Roman examples of this species of literature¹⁸.

B. ON THE DIVINE HONOURS CLAIMED BY ALEXANDER, AND PAID TO HIM BY THE ATHENIANS AND OTHERS.

It was in the winter of the year 332 B.C. that Alexander made his well-known visit to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, situated in an oasis of the Libyan desert, thence named Ammonium. Perseus and Heracles were among the ancient heroes, so ran the legends of the place, who had consulted its unerring oracle. Alexander even thus early had begun to surmise or to pretend, that he as well as

¹⁷ Aristotle (*Rhet.* III. 10) has a fine but puzzling quotation from some *ἐπιτάφιος λόγος* whose author he does not name: *ὅλον ἐν τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ, διότι ἄξιον ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τῷ τῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τελευτησάντων κείρασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὡς συγκαταβαπτομένης τῇ ἀρετῇ αὐτῶν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.* Σαλαμῖνι seems corrupt, but it is not easy to see how to correct it: a learned friend suggests *Δαμῖα*, which is certainly clever. At the same time the sentence does not appear to me likely to have occurred in the present speech of Hyperides, in which a hopeful tone prevails, but it would admirably suit an oration delivered after the battle of Crannon, B.C. 322, which concluded the Lamian war. Aristotle (as well as Hyperides and Demosthenes) seems just to have survived this war. The idea that Aristotle quoted the funeral oration of Lysias, which we now have, is absurd. See Dobr. *Adv.* vol. I. p. 13.

¹⁸ Taylor (*Lect. Lys.* III.) has some remarks which might have been a little more explicit. "Vergente sæculo plena sunt ecclesiasticorum scriptorum monumenta præconiis in funere recitari solitis." Examples are to be found in the writings of Basil, Gregory Nyssen, Gregory Nazianzen and Chrysostom, (to say nothing of authors still later), some of which are funeral orations, properly so called, others are addresses in honor of departed saints. Among the latest compositions of this kind may be named the funeral orations of Georgius Gemistus Pletho and of Michael Apostolius (over Cardinal Bessarion), both belonging to the fifteenth century. Taylor thus proceeds: "Plena etiam Sophistarum; Adriani Tyrrii, Himerii, Polemonis, Libanii, &c." Among these he ranks also the oration of Aristides over Eteoneus:—add his oration over Alexander. For the Roman examples the same author may be consulted. See Reiske *Oratt. Att.* t. VI. pp. 231—242.

they was descended from Zeus¹⁹. His mother Olympias likewise maintained his divine parentage. It was therefore his desire to obtain a confirmation of his claims from the venerable and unquestioned authority of Ammon. As he moved through the burning desert divers prodigies portended a propitious answer. At the head of the army appeared ravens and serpents to indicate the route over the pathless waste. No sooner had he approached than the eldest of the priests saluted him as the son of Ammon. His companions also were made aware that it was the divine will that Alexander should be honoured as a god and not as a king²⁰. His future exploits, it was added, should be a confirmation of his divine descent. From that time forwards, as it appears, Alexander accepted or required the appellation of the son of Zeus²¹. It would seem however that he took no active steps to enforce a recognition of his claims till a later period. After having defeated Darius at Arbela, B.C. 331, and conquered Sogdiana B.C. 328, he proceeded in the following year to invade India.

Matters now appeared ripe, and he seriously considered how he should best engender a belief in his divine origin and powers²². Agis an Argive and Cleon a Sicilian, who were in especial favour with the king, gave out in very bad verses that a place in heaven was vacant for Alexander; and that Heracles and Dionysus, Castor and Polydeuces were ready to make way for the new god. The Macedonians reluctantly acknowledged him as the son of Zeus, and fell prostrate before him on the earth. His divinity was propitiated by the fumes of frankincense and other offerings. Callisthenes and some of the older Macedonians openly proclaimed their dissent: but it is remarkable that the Greeks should have been less unwilling than the crowd of Macedonians to offer this blasphemous flattery²³. The mad king was not even

¹⁹ Καὶ τι καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς γενέσεως τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐς Ἀμμωνα ἀνέφερε, καθάπερ οἱ μῦθοι τῆς Ἡρακλέους καὶ Περσέως ἐς Δία. Arrian. *Exped. Alex.* III. 3.

²⁰ Diod. xvii. 51, Curt. iv. 7, Just. xi. 11.

²¹ Jovis igitur filium se non solum appellari passus est; sed etiam jussit. Curt. iv. 7.

²² Jamque omnibus præparatis quod olim prava mente conceperat, tunc esse maturum ratus quonam modo cœlestes honores usurparet cœpit agitare. Curt. viii. 5.

²³ Curtius viii. 5. Athenæus (vi. 57, 58,) mentions various instances of their flattery. Among the rest Dioxiippus, the famous Athenian pancratiast, who had

content to appear as the young Ammon wearing a purple robe and the ram's horns, but sometimes assumed the form of other deities. At one time he was Artemis, bearing a bow and hunting-spear at his back and dressed in a Persian gown. At other times he came forth as Heracles with his club and lion's skin: at others again as Hermes with his wand and petasus. It was sometimes in fine his pleasure to compare himself with the Indian Dionysus²⁴.

As time went on, and his victories multiplied, he sought to enlarge the circle of his worshippers, and to transfer to Europe the adoration which had been paid to him in Africa and in the East. It may probably have been at the time when he ordered the Greek cities to receive their exiles B.C. 324, that he gave the monstrous injunction that they were to decree his own deification (*ψηφίσασθαι θεόν*). Different states arrived at different conclusions: we have accounts of the proceedings at Sparta and Athens. The Lacedæmonians resolved as follows: "Since Alexander wishes to be a god, let him be a god." At Athens Demades proposed that he should be worshipped with divine honors, as the thirteenth added to the Olympian Twelve²⁵. Some unwillingness having been expressed, he added, "See that while you guard the rights of heaven, you lose not those of earth²⁶." His decree passed, but sometime afterwards the Athenians repenting of their obsequiousness inflicted a fine of ten talents on Demades. The effect of their decree was to consecrate temples and offer sacrifices in his honor, and it appears from the text that his votaries exceeded in zeal the worshippers of the older deities. With regard to the conduct and sentiments of the other leading statesmen, it was made a charge against Demosthenes that he maintained that the people should not dispute with Alexander about celestial honors: Lycurgus asked what sort of a god must

accompanied Alexander, broke forth on one occasion, when the king had received a wound, in the words of Homer: *Ἰχὼρ οἷόν περ τε πέει μακρῶσι θεοῖσι*.

²⁴ Athen. xii. 53. See also Lucian *Dial. Mort.* xiv. 6, and Curt. ix. 2.

²⁵ *Ælian Var. Hist.* v. 12, ii. 19; Athen. vi. 58. Diog. Laert. (vi. 6, p. 405 St.) in his life of Diogenes says, that the Athenians decreed Alexander to be Dionysus, on which Diogenes said, that he himself ought to be created Serapis. Lucian (*Dial. Mort.* xiii. 2) says in reference no doubt to the Athenians, *ἐνιοὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς προστιθέντες καὶ νεὺς οἰκοδομοῦμενοι καὶ θύοντες ὡς δράκοντος* *εὐφ*: alluding to the epiphany of Zeus to Olympias.

²⁶ Val. Max. vii. 2. § 13.

he be from whose temple no one could go out without need of being purified. Pytheas, when reproached as being too young to dispute on so weighty an affair, replied that he was older than their new divinity²⁷.

The opinions of Hyperides may be collected from the text²⁸, but we do not know whether he took any part in the discussion.

In the year following ambassadors from Greece came to meet Alexander at Babylon bearing golden crowns, and greeted him as a god²⁹: so that his injunctions would appear to have met with a general acceptance. Their adulations however availed little; and in a few days his divine majesty was numbered with the dead.

Yet not even then did his worshippers desist from their insane devotions. His body was borne in state to his own city Alexandria, in order that it might be conveyed to the temple of Ammon. It remained however at Alexandria: and sacrifices were offered at his tomb. He was still regarded in Egypt and elsewhere as the youthful Ammon, and the fine coins of his General Lysimachus represent him in that character³⁰. In later ages the Roman Senate decreed his adoration³¹, and the Emperor Caracalla more especially carried the veneration and imitation of him to the highest pitch³². In the same spirit the Greek writers during the Roman period, such as Diodorus and Arrian, speak of him as not inferior to the ancient heroes and demigods³³.

²⁷ Dinarch. *c. Dem.* § 94: (and Maetzner's note, to which I am indebted for some of the authorities referred to in this article.) Pseudo-Plut. *Vit. X. Oratt.* p. 842. Plutarch. *Reip. ger. præc.* p. 804, B.

²⁸ See also Hyperid. *c. Dem.* fr. 11, col. 4, where Sauppe seems right in thinking that Demosthenes is accused of calling Alexander ἀνέκτρος θεός.

²⁹ Arrian VII. 23.

³⁰ Diod. XVIII. 28. Rasche, Leake, Burgon, Bunbury, L. Müller, and most modern numismatists, Eckhel and Visconti excepted, consider the portrait with the ram's horn to represent Alexander. Mr Burgon is also of opinion that the youthful Ammon on the later coins of Cyrene is a portrait of Alexander. (Catalogue of Rogers' coins, n. 195.) An inscription (not contained in Böckh. *Corp. Inscr.*) in strangely archaic characters, which seems intended for a hexameter, may be seen in the Egyptian court in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham: δύνανται Ἀλέξανδρος Δι' Ὀλύμπιον ἐξιλάσασθαι. (See Herod. VII. 141.) Compare Lucan. x. 272. Summus Alexander regum quos Memphis adorat.

³¹ Chrysost. in 2 Cor. 12 (tom. x. p. 740, Ed. Par. 1837, where see the note).

³² See Leake *Numism. Hell.* (Europ. Greece), p. 64, and the authorities.

³³ Diod. XVII. 1; Arr. *Exp. Alex.* VII. 29; see also Menand. *περὶ ἐπιδεικτ.* in Speng. *Rhet. Gr.* vol. III. p. 388.

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